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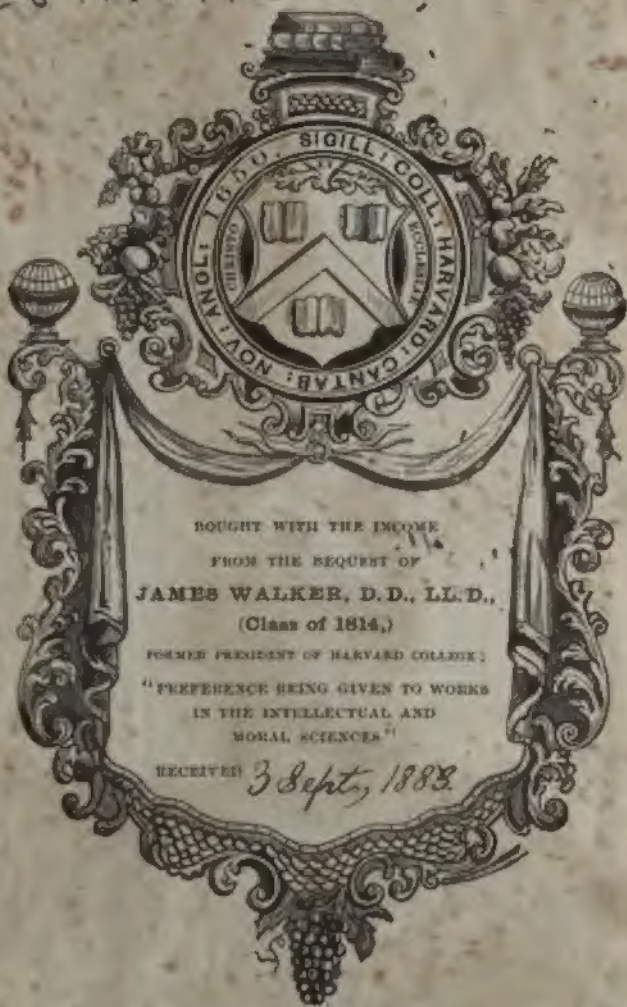
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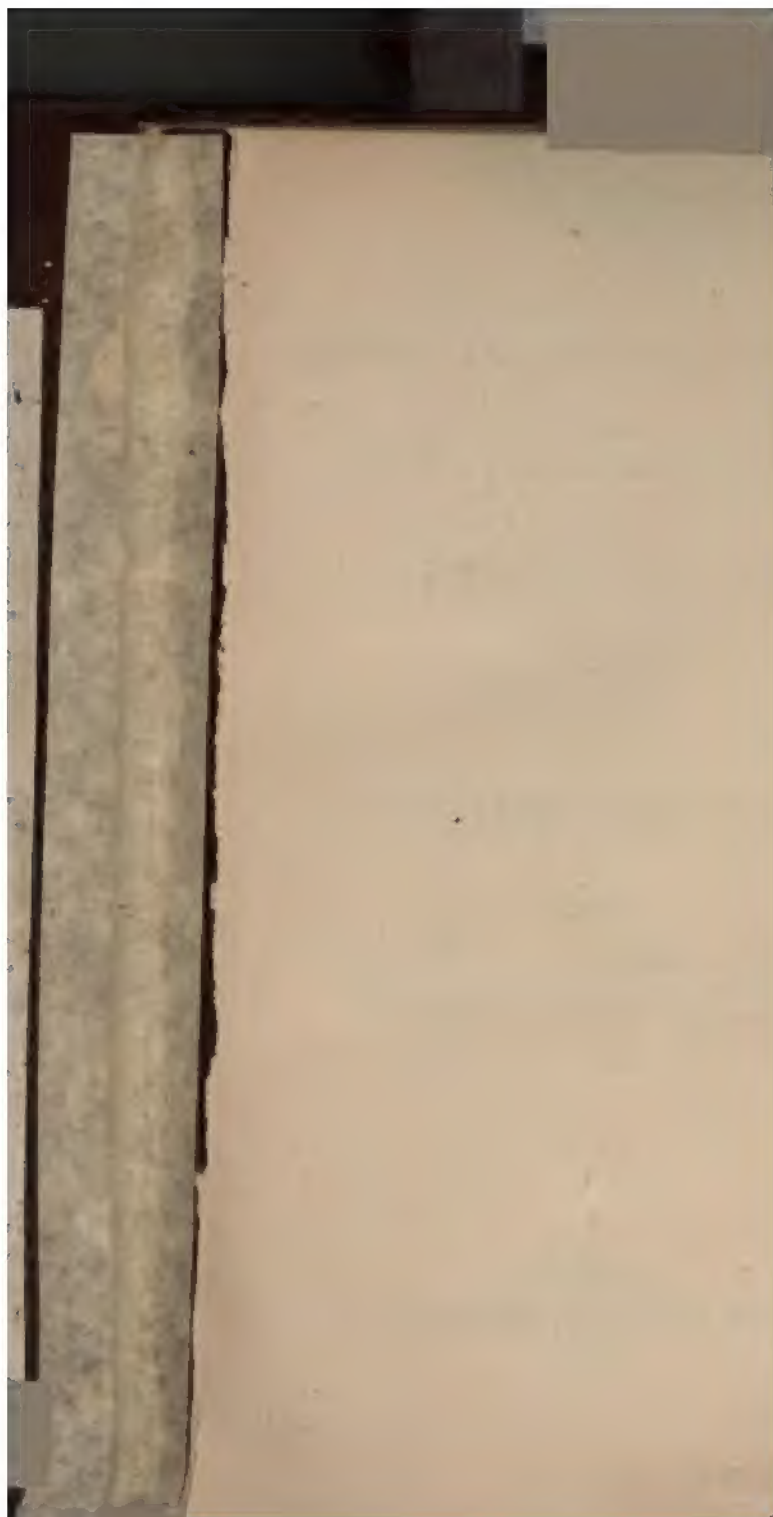
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HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM

FROM

ABOUT A. D. 250 TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

GEORGE PUNCHARD

VOL. V

CONGREGATIONALISM IN AMERICA

VOL. II

NEW YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, THE SOUTHERN AND SOUTHWESTERN
STATES, THE OLD WEST, THE NEW WEST, RESUME OF HIS-
TORY, REVIVALS, THE UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY

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HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM



HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

NEW YORK: PURITANS AND INDEPENDENTS AMONG THE EARLIEST SETTLERS OF MANHATTAN ISLAND AND OF WESTCHESTER AND DUTCHESS COUNTIES—CONGREGATIONALISM IN WESTERN NEW YORK AND THE GENESSEE COUNTRY—MISSIONARY LABORS, 1784-1793—ORGANIZATION OF CHURCHES, 1790-1816—"PLAN OF UNION" IN OPERATION—ENCROACHMENTS OF PRESBYTERIANISM—A NEW ERA IN NEW YORK CONGREGATIONALISM, 1833.

MANHATTAN ISLAND, now covered by the great city of New York, and Castle Island, in the Hudson river, near Albany, were occupied by the Dutch West India Company, many years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. Yet these two settlements were little else than mere trading stations until about the year 1623, when families began to move in, and give them the appearance of permanent colonies.

The policy of the Dutch Company was to make New Amsterdam rival Old Amsterdam in trade, in population, and in general attractiveness to all people, kindreds, tongues, and creeds; believing that "population was the bulwark of every State."

Thus were drawn into the colony the adventurous, the enterprising, the restless, and the persecuted of all nations; and as early as about 1664, New Amsterdam, then called New York, could boast of her growth and prosperity, and of her fine buildings, well-nigh rivaling Boston itself, the very emporium of the New World.*

It was not to be supposed, that in this general muster of many men of many minds, the Puritans — the most enterprising men of the age — would be missing. We are, therefore, quite prepared to hear the report of Governor Andros (1670-78) that amidst the "religions of all sorts" in New York, the Presbyterians and Independents were the most numerous and substantial.† Nor need we be surprised to learn, further, that these people were not confined to "New Yorktown," but that whole townships, beyond the limits of Manhattan Island, were occupied by Massachusetts and Connecticut families, at a very early period

* Albany Records in *Bancroft*, II, 300-3; edition of 1855.

† In *Homes' Annals*, I, 390-91, and note 1.

Governor Andros, in answer to the Committee of Colonies, April 7, 1678, said of the Colony, "There are religions of all sorts, one Church of England, several Presbyterians; and Independents, Quakers, and Anabaptists of several sects, some Jews, but the Presbyterians and Independents are the most numerous and substantial. There are about twenty churches or meeting places, of which above half are vacant. Few ministers till very lately." In the town there were then about 543 houses, and about ten persons in a house, giving a population of 3,430 souls.

of New York history. Moreover, what may appear somewhat strange, the New England colonies claimed and even exercised jurisdiction over the towns settled by their people.*

Emigration from New England to New York began as early as 1635-40, and continued, with increasing volume, for more than a century and a half. It was not, however, until some few years after the Revolutionary War, that the greatest flow of Eastern emigrants to New York was witnessed. The explanation of this is found in the fact, that in addition to its other attractions, no inconsiderable portion of the whole province of New York was claimed by Connecticut and Massachusetts, as within the bounds of their respective patents. For these patents, with an indefiniteness laughably absurd, bounded these colonies on the west, by the "South Sea," or the Pacific Ocean! And the boundary lines between New England and New York were not fully adjusted until about 1786-1800. In 1786 Commissioners met in Hartford, Conn., and decided that to New York belonged the sovereignty of all land within the present bounds of that State; while to Massachusetts belonged the right of preemption to millions of acres in Western and Central New

* *Trumbull's History of Connecticut*, vol. 1, chapters ii and xv, and Appendix No 1. *Felt's Ecclesiastical History of New England*, 1, 409, 11, 69, 559. *Albany Records in Bancroft*, 11, 304.

York: that is, the right to purchase the land of the Indians and sell it to settlers. This right Massachusetts immediately sold to enterprising men, who proceeded at once to buy out the Indians, survey the land, lot it out, and sell it to actual settlers, who rapidly filled the country with New England families. The Connecticut claim was not settled until some four years later, when Congress made over to Connecticut three millions of acres of land and more, lying along and adjacent to the southern shores of Lake Erie, known as the "Western Reserve," in lieu of all the lands to which she laid claim within the State of New York. This compromise was accepted, the new territory was called "New Connecticut," and the protracted and troublesome controversy between the sovereign States was forever closed.*

But, long before this, New England people, churches, and institutions, had found a home in numerous places, between the present boundary line of Connecticut and Massachusetts and the Hudson river. Westchester and Dutchess counties particularly abounded in such settlements.

The town of Westchester, twelve or fourteen miles from New York city, was settled by John Throgmorton and some thirty-five Puritan fami-

* *Holmes' Annals*, i, 413; ii, 183; *Trumbull's Connecticut*, i, 379-86; *Hatchkin's Western New York*, chaps. i, ii and iii, particularly pp. 4, 8 and 24.

ness, chiefly from Salem, Mass., and Providence, R. I., as early as 1642; and the town of Rye, twenty-seven miles from New York city, was also settled by New England people, in 1650. There were about sixty families of Congregationalists in this little town, in the year 1727.*

The town of East Chester, first called "Hutchinsons," and afterwards, "The Ten Farms," was first settled in 1649, by immigrants from Fairfield, Conn. For some years they seem to have lived without any particular town or church organization, regarding themselves probably as a plantation, amenable to the church and town and colony from which they emigrated. But in 1665 the planters entered into a formal "plantation covenant," similar to those adopted by the earliest Puritan settlers of Long Island. This was a sort of Magna Charta. It set forth their rights and privileges, and at the same time announced the fundamental laws and essential regulations of the community, and bound the people in a firm covenant to walk together as a Christian community; every signer being pledged to support a religious teacher. Twenty-six men signed this covenant, and thus laid the foundations of a Congregational church, as well as of a well-ordered town, at East Chester.

* Thompson, in *Congregational Quarterly* of Jan., 1860, p. 37; *Bacon's History of Westchester County, N. Y.*, ii, pp. 144, 152 and 249.

The Rev. Mr. Brewster was the first minister of the plantation, and remained with the people about ten years. The names of six other Congregational pastors are preserved, reaching down to about 1704, when the church was merged into the Episcopal church, then the established religion of New York.*

The first religious society in Bedford, Westchester county, was likewise Congregational. This was organized in 1680. The same year "it was agreed that a meeting-house should be erected on the Commons." In 1681 the General Court of Connecticut ordered that a suitable lot of land should be laid out "for the minister, forever." In December, 1681, Rev. Peter Prudden was called to be the minister of the town; and in 1698 every land owner in the town was taxed three pence an acre for all his land, to support the minister. Bolton furnishes a list of its ministers, five in all, down to 1704.†

The Rev. Elisha Kent, grandfather of the late Chancellor Kent of New York, was pastor of a Congregational church in the southeastern part of Dutchess county, from about 1740 to 1776. He was a native of Suffolk, Conn.; graduated at Yale, in 1729, was for some years pastor of the Congregational church of Newtown, Conn.; moved into the wilderness of Dutchess county,

* Bolton's *Hist. Westchester County*, i, 122-24; 130-46.

† *Hist. Westchester County*, i, 20-21.

in 1740, to a place which was subsequently known as "Kent's Parish." He lived and labored here for about thirty-six years, and died among his own people, July, 1776, aged seventy-two years.*

In the town of Salem, Washington county, east of the Hudson, a Congregational church appears to have been organized soon after the first settlement of the town, though little can be learned about it previous to 1764. From that time to 1832, "it was strictly independent in its organization, and Congregational in its form of government and worship." It was placed under the jurisdiction of the Bedford Presbytery, in 1832. The Rev. Joel Benedict, D.D., preached to this church between 1782-84.†

In 1752 a Congregational church was gathered at Gloversville, in Fulton county, in the centre of Eastern New York. This church still continues on its ancient foundation, and has held on its way and grown stronger and stronger to the present day, reporting a membership, in 1879, of three hundred and forty-four souls.

* M.S. Letter to the author, from the Hon Abner Hazeltine, Jamestown, N. Y., dated July 9, 1874; *National Portrait Gallery*, art James Kent. In the notice of the chancellor's grandfather, he is said to have been the pastor of a "Presbyterian" church at Newtown, Conn. But the Newtown church was Congregational from its birth in 1715, and remains so to the present day.

† *Isis*, 1, 484-85; *Sprague's Annals*, Trinitarian Congregationalists, 1, 682-83.

There was, in 1850, at Stillwater, Saratoga county, N. Y., a Congregational church, which claimed to be almost a hundred years old. It was organized in Canaan, Conn., June 28-29, 1752, when eighty persons — forty-five males and thirty-five females — “subscribed with their own hands” the “Articles of Faith, Congregational Church Government and Covenant,” adopted by the church — “pure, sound, orthodox and evangelical, drawn from the sacred oracles of truth.” A revival of religion visited the people, and twenty were added to the church, previous to 1761. On the 20th of October of that year, Robert Campbell, one of their own number, was ordained and installed as their pastor. In April following, 1762, “at a fast appointed to know our duty in respect to this church moving to Stillwater [N. Y.] it was fully agreed this church should remove from Canaan to Stillwater.” And, in pursuance of this agreement, the greater part of the church, with their pastor, removed the same year and settled the town, and constituted the first Congregational church of Stillwater, and the first of this order in all the new settlements between Albany and the Canada line.

Subsequently, Congregational churches were organized in numerous other settlements, in that and neighboring counties; as, for example, at Ballston, Maltaville, Greenfield, Corinth, Moreau, East Line, and Milton, in Saratoga county; at

Kingsborough, in Washington county; and in Belton, Warren county.

Of this cluster of Congregational churches every one has passed away, or apostatized to Presbyterianism. The Stillwater church remained faithful to the principles of its founders for more than a hundred years; and in 1850 dedicated a new Congregational meeting-house. But as far back as 1817-20, this church went into an agreement with a Presbyterian church, which its own pastor, Mark Tucker, a licentiate of the Albany Presbytery, had formed in Stillwater Village, by which the pastor was allowed to serve both churches, on the "plan of union." The result was, that after a few years, the united churches were served by Presbyterian ministers only, and finally the old Congregational church went the way of many other early Congregational churches of New York—straight into the all-embracing arms of Presbyterianism.* The Rev.

* For the materials of this sketch of the Stillwater church, I am indebted to the Hon. Abner Hazeltine, of Jamestown, N. Y.; and to a little pamphlet, entitled *Historical Reminiscences of the Congregational Church in Stillwater*, by Rev. Lebbeus Armstrong. The quotations are from the church records, embodied in the *Reminiscences*. Mr. Armstrong, whose whole ministerial life was spent in Saratoga county, was a native of Westchester county, and was raised in one of the border Congregational churches of that county. He was an excellent man, a most useful minister, and a thorough Congregationalist to the last. He died some twenty or twenty-five years since, probably in the little hamlet of Jonesville, between Troy and Ballston Spa, where he had lived during the last years of his very long and

Dr. Mark Tucker, who was pastor of this ancient Stillwater church for some time, and knew some of the original members, bears this testimony concerning them: "The original members were Puritans, sound in the faith, many of them real divines. I have never known so able a church in word and doctrine. Deacon Seymore and Deacon Morey were pillars in the church." *

In 1772 a Congregational church was organized at Canaan Four Corners, Columbia county, N. Y., just over the Massachusetts line. And it still lives, though the only survivor of half a dozen sister churches, which the Connecticut people planted in that county, about that time. Ten years later, in 1782, a Congregational church was formed at Howells, in Orange county, which also has kept its first estate, and reported in 1879 a membership of one hundred and twenty-one souls.

In 1785 another Congregational church was formed at Middleton, in the same county, which still survives and flourishes with a membership of two hundred and thirty-eight souls.

Many of these early Congregational churches

useful life. When pastor of the Congregational church at Moreau, Saratoga county, Mr. Armstrong organized a temperance society, which is reputed to have been one of the first, if not the very first, ever organized in this country.—*MS. Letter from Mr. Hardtne, 1874.*

* *MS. Letter from Dr. Tucker, dated Wethersfield, Conn., February 4, 1865.*

of New York have interesting histories of their own, which ought to be gathered up and handed down to posterity. Take for example the church in Middletown, Orange county. This flourishing town was first settled by Congregational people from Long Island. The church was organized June 10, 1785, by the aid of Rev. Charles Seeley, of Sussex county, New Jersey, who was their pastor until June 10, 1797. Half an acre or more of land was purchased, and a meeting-house was built upon it in 1786, and the ground around was consecrated as a burial place. The church appears to have been a remarkably orderly and thrifty body from the start. Some of its regulations were quaint and peculiar, but very suggestive and good. Take the following: At a regular church meeting in 1792, it was voted, "That any member failing to appear at the time of day appointed [for the next regular church meeting] shall be thought worthy of blame, unless they offer a reasonable excuse." And this became the established rule of the church, and for fifty years an excuse was required of every member who was absent from any meeting of the church. Another standing rule of this primitive body of Christians required every member who wished to leave a religious meeting during service time, to ask permission of the moderator or leader of the meeting. Still another curious rule was, that after the opening prayer of every religious meeting, before proceeding to business

or services of any other kind, they should first "try the fellowship of the church;" or, in other words, ascertain if there was any want of friendly feeling among the members of the church toward one another. The ordinary way of trying the fellowship was, for the moderator to ask: "Are the minds of any of the brothers or sisters in the church burdened with the travail of this church, or any of its members?" If there was no response, then the business or devotional services of the meeting proceeded, the clerk of the church entering in the records: "Tried the fellowship of the church and found all agreed."

If, however, there appeared to be "any root of bitterness" springing up among the members, the removal of this was made the first thing in order, before proceeding to any other business.

But though the church was thus exacting, it yet was very kindly and tender in its treatment of offenders. For example: At a certain time the church having cited before it all parents who had neglected to present their children for baptism, found one mother who refused to hear the church. But instead of subjecting her to immediate discipline, the church first appointed a day of fasting and prayer on behalf of this mother, that her duty might be made plain to her.

The following vote proves the willingness of the members to bear one another's burdens: "Whereas this church did purchase a cow for bro. Joseph Price, and he having moved out of

the place and left the cow with Dea. Corwin, the church does agree to lend her to sister Tooker for the present."

For forty years or more this church retained its Congregational order unimpaired, except that it fell into the habit of sending a delegate to a neighboring Presbytery, in default of any Congregational Association in the neighborhood, and of looking to the Presbytery for occasional pulpit supplies and for advice. At length, however, in 1825, under the leadership of an intensely partisan pastor, a slender vote was obtained, at a thinly attended church meeting, "to adopt the Presbyterian mode of doing business; or, in other words, to change our order to that of the Presbyterian." Fifteen votes were cast in favor, and nine against this proposition, out of a membership of two hundred and sixty souls, one hundred of whom were males. The Society seems not to have been consulted on the question. The nine brethren who voted against this change, entered their protest and then withdrew from the meeting, claiming to be the Congregational church of Middletown. The property of the old church was claimed by both parties, and the old meeting-house was actually torn down by the Presbyterians, headed by their minister, to keep it out of Congregational hands. But the courts finally gave the Congregationalists possession of this property, and of the old church records. On this, immediate preparations were made to build a new meeting-house, on

the old site, which house was first used in 1834. It was at that time, while smarting under the wrongs inflicted by a Presbyterian minister and faction, that the church passed a resolution to this effect: "Resolved, 5th, That it shall be the privilege of any member of the Society, by and with the consent of the deacons or trustees of the church, to invite (when we have no Congregational minister) all orthodox Christian ministers (Presbyterians excepted) to preach for us occasionally."

This resolution has been very naturally denounced as intensely uncharitable, and it certainly cannot be commended as a model act; and yet, considering what trouble a Presbyterian minister had brought upon this ancient Congregational church, it is not altogether so strange a vote after all. If it had read: "Presbyterians [like our late pastor, the Rev. Mr. Stebbins] excepted," it would not have been so very much amiss.

Another vote, passed at the same time, expresses the feeling of the church toward Presbyterianism in a less objectionable form: "Resolved, 6th, That the Church and Congregation shall never be at liberty to invite any minister to become our settled pastor and teacher, but a professed Congregationalist."

That these votes have not entailed on the Middletown Congregationalists an unchristian spirit, is quite apparent from the fact, that in 1866-68,

the church gave the Presbyterians the free use of the Congregational meeting-house, half the time, for about two years, while the Presbyterians were building a new house.

The Congregational church of Middletown, as might have been predicted from its early character and later experience, has remained faithful to its ancient polity to this day. And it has been a thriving, as well as stable church, being now one of the most prosperous in the State, with a membership of two hundred and thirty-eight souls.*

There were many other Congregational churches scattered over the southern and eastern counties of New York at or about this time. We find, for example, that as early as 1792, in addition to those that have been noticed, there were churches of our faith and polity in Greenburg, North Salem, and Pound Ridge, in Westchester county; in Southeast, Putnam county; in Poughkeepsie, Dutchess county; and in Malta, Saratoga county; † not one of which is now found on our denominational list, except Poughkeepsie; and this is not the old church, but one formed half a century later, in 1837.

In those early days the popular current was so

* I am indebted to the pastor of the Middletown Congregational Church, the Rev. Charles A. Harvey, for a full and very interesting sketch of its history, from which I have drawn the materials of the above notice.

† See over, *Ecclesiastical Associations*, p. 51.

strong in Eastern New York, toward Congregationalism, that it was thought necessary to the life and prosperity of the old Presbyterian church in the village of Crompond, that it should be reorganized Congregationally. This was done on or before the year 1787. Its pastor was then the Rev. Silas Constant, and the church took the name of the First Congregational Church and Society at Yorktown. As such, it seems to have prospered for a time, at least, and sent out a colony in 1790 to form a Congregational church at Red Mills, in its immediate vicinity; and another to Peekskill, in 1816, for the same purpose. But neither the mother church nor her daughters are now on the list of Congregational churches.*

And the same is true of four other Presbyterian churches, organized as early as about 1795: Binghamton, Elmira (or Newtown), Lima (or Charlestown), and Lakeville, in the town of Livonia; they had all to be reorganized as Congregational churches, to preserve them from utter ruin, or to gratify the tastes of the early settlers.† But they do not seem to have prospered very much, and all went back again to Presbyterianism or to destruction; though in Binghamton and Elmira there are now flourishing Congregational churches of a much later date.

* *Boston's Hist. Westchester Co., N. Y.*, II, 382-83.

† *Congregationalism in Western New York*, by James H. Dill, pp. 4-5; *Hotchkiss*, 446-48, 568-69, 572-74.

WESTERN NEW YORK, 1784-1814.

Having looked over the history of Congregationalism in Eastern and Southeastern New York, we turn now to the Western, Central, and Southwestern parts of the State, called in early days "the Western Country," "Western New York," and the "Genesee Country." The country thus designated, in general terms, included nearly all New York west of the Catskill and Adirondack mountains, to the lakes and the Pennsylvania line; a tract of country two hundred and fifty miles long and of more than half that average width. Strictly speaking, the "Genesee Country" was a little less comprehensive than Western New York, including the country west of Onondaga river.* This extensive and fertile territory remained almost an unbroken wilderness until after the Revolutionary War, the oldest town in it dating back only to 1784. But after the Indian titles to the lands had been extinguished, in 1788-90, the settlement of this territory was very rapid.

The first settlers were mostly New England people, Connecticut and Massachusetts leading

* *Morse's Gazetteer* describes the Genesee Country as bounded north and northwest by Lake Ontario; south by Pennsylvania; east by the military townships in Onondaga county, and west by Lake Erie and Niagara river. This would give a tract of country about one hundred and fifty miles long and eighty or more miles wide.

the hosts. And though the desire to improve their worldly condition was undoubtedly the controlling motive of most of these emigrants, yet many of them were Christian people who valued the religious institutions of New England, and were anxious to secure them for their new homes. But the first settlers were widely scattered and unable to do much toward supporting religious institutions. The Connecticut churches, however, appreciated not only the wants of their brethren who had gone into the wilderness, but their need of help; and so, as early even as 1784, local ministerial associations and individual churches in Connecticut began the benevolent work of sending their ministers on short missions into "the Western Country;" the associations supplying, during these temporary absences, the pulpits of the pastors whom they had sent to the new settlements.

In 1788 the General Association of Connecticut took this subject under particular consideration, and recommended this plan to all the local associations. But this not working smoothly, the Association next took the business into its own hands, obtained an act of the legislature, authorizing a collection to be taken up in all the churches of the State, to support missionaries in the new settlements, and to supply the pulpits of those who went on these missions; for, at first, it was deemed important that ordained and experienced ministers only should be intrusted with

this important missionary work, which included the formation of churches and the administration of church ordinances, as well as preaching the gospel and visiting from house to house throughout the new settlements. The response of the churches was prompt and liberal, three hundred and eighty pounds and more being contributed the first year, and the amount being steadily increased, from year to year, until it amounted to thousands of dollars yearly.*

For the first year the General Association commissioned nine missionaries for short missions to the new settlements. This course was continued until 1798, when the Association organized itself into the Connecticut Missionary Society, and in 1802 obtained an act of incorporation to enable them to do their work more easily and effectively.

The Rev. Ammi Ruhamah Robbins, pastor of the Congregational church of Norfolk, Conn., for more than fifty-two years, appears to have been the first missionary commissioned by the General Association of Connecticut, to labor in the new settlements of Western New York. On the 8d

* In 1793 the whole collection for Home Missions was £380 15s. 11 1/4d. (\$5.33 to a pound lawful money); in 1794 it was doubled, £780 14s. 7 3/4d.; in 1795 it was reported in dollars, \$1,100.52, in 1799 it was nearly doubled, \$2,018.25; in 1800 it was \$2,224.22, in 1802 it was \$2,986.16, and in 1813 it rose to \$3,275.50—See *Connecticut Missionary Narratives and Reports*, from 1793 to 1814.

of July, 1793, he left home for the neighborhood of the Mohawk river. In three days he reached the destitute settlements there, and then travelled up and down the river, and north and south, on either side of the Mohawk, as far as he could, preaching, visiting from house to house, catechising the children, instructing the parents, organizing churches, ordaining ministers, and doing whatever promised to advance the interests of pure religion in the new and destitute settlements. He administered the Lord's Supper at Clinton; attended the ordination of the Rev. Joel Bradley and preached on the occasion at Westmoreland, and then went to the vacant settlements north of Albany, doing the same sort of missionary work among them as he had done along the Mohawk river.

A few days after Mr. Robbins left home, the Rev. David Huntington started on a similar mission to New York and Northeastern Pennsylvania. Commencing at the town of Catskill, he went westward to the confluence of the Chemung and the Susquehanna rivers, into the State of Pennsylvania, as far as the "Great Bend" in the Susquehanna, in Luzerne county.

The Rev. Samuel Eells, of North Branford, Conn., began his mission in New York on the 17th of August, 1793. He went, first, by way of Albany, through the new settlements, northward, toward Lake Ontario, and then through the twenty or thirty settlements already begun, north

and south of the Mohawk. He attended an ordination at Clinton, preaching the sermon; he formed a church at Whitestown, Oneida county; and laid the foundation for another, at Wrights' Settlement, north of Fort Stanwix, near Rome, in the same county.

The Rev. Aaron Kinne, of Groton, Conn., set out on his mission, September 25, 1793. Beginning at Whitestown, he traversed the country westward to the neighborhood of the Genesee river; then southward to the borders of Pennsylvania; then northward to the settlements around Canandaigua lake (Canandarqua, or Canandarque, as it was then called) and around Seneca and Cayuga lakes; visiting about fifty settlements in all. In this tour of eighty-eight days, Mr. Kinne preached eighty times, besides holding numberless conversations with the people, advising and assisting them in the formation of churches, and writing confessions of faith and covenants for their use. He then went south again, to Tioga Point, in Pennsylvania, at the confluence of the Chemung and the Susquehanna, now known as Athens, and thence turned his face northward again toward Catskill, spending about twenty days and preaching about as many times.

Let any one take a map of New York and follow the track of this brave old missionary, through the whole central portion of the great State, and consider that this journey was performed on horseback, often over nearly impass-

able roads, often along trails merely, through unbroken forests for many, many miles; and over rivers, and across lakes, solitary and alone; exposed to all the inclemencies of autumnal weather; in weariness and fasting; often compelled to put up with the coarsest fare and the most unsatisfactory accommodations, and not unfrequently exposed to imminent danger;—let any reader consider how this good man thus traversed the wilderness and solitary way, a distance of more than thirteen hundred miles; occupying more than three months; during which time he preached as many times as there were days in his mission, besides all the other work done;—let the reader consider these items in the missionary's account, and he will get a pretty vivid conception of the laborious, dangerous, but eminently useful work of the early home missionaries of New England. For this mission was only a fair sample of them all. And let it not be forgotten that these early missionaries were nearly all pastors of churches, which they left for a season to preach the gospel to those who were utterly destitute, receiving a pecuniary consideration of just four dollars and fifty cents or five dollars a week while engaged in actual work.

In reviewing the work done by their missionaries in 1793, the Committee of the Association say: "By the charitable contributions made the last year, and the measures adopted by the General Association, the gospel has been preached

through the vast tract of country from the north-western parts of New Hampshire as far west as Genesee river, and down as far southwesterly as the Great Bend, in the State of Pennsylvania. . . . Most of the new settlements, westward of the Hudson, as far as Genesee river, and south of the Mohawk river, as far as the State of Pennsylvania, have repeatedly heard the Word preached; and abundant thanksgivings have been given to the name of the Lord. . . . The wilderness has indeed been made to rejoice, and the solitary place to be glad." *

The first church organization in Western New York was, probably, at Canandaigua, somewhere about 1790. It seems, however, to have been but a temporary arrangement, to give the scattered Christians in the Genesee country an opportunity to enjoy the Lord's Supper and the baptism of their children — the church being formed, probably, under the impression that without such an organization these Christian ordinances could not be properly observed. The church was made up of persons from all the country around who were members of churches. And after the organization had served a temporary purpose, it was probably suffered to die out, the members connecting themselves with other Congregational

* *Narrative of the Missions to the New Settlements, by the General Association of the State of Connecticut, 1794.*

churches, which were soon organized in different parts of that country. The agent in this church organization was the Rev. John Smith, then pastor of the Congregational church in Dighton, Mass., who chanced to be in the Genesee country at that time, looking after some land of which he had become possessed. After a while Mr. Smith returned to Massachusetts, and we hear nothing more of this church organization at Canandaigua until 1799, when it was either resuscitated or reappeared as a new Congregational church. Mr. Smith revisited this neighborhood in 1802, and resided here for several years, showing his interest in the town by giving a thousand acres of land to endow a seminary of learning in Canandaigua.*

In 1791 a Congregational church was organized at Clinton, and another at Paris, and still another at Westmoreland, all in Oneida county, from eighty to a hundred miles east of Canandaigua. These churches seem to have been organized by the advice and direction of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, then of New Haven, Conn., afterwards President of Union College. The church at Clinton prospered greatly, and in 1802 was regarded as "the most harmonious, regular, and pious of any in the northern part of the State of New York." It numbered, at that time, two

* *Hutchins*, 27-28; *Allen's Dict.*, art. "John Smith;" *Cong. Quar.*, chh. statistics.

hundred and forty members. The Rev. Asahel Strong Norton was its first pastor. He was born in Farmington, Conn., graduated at Yale College in 1790, with the highest honors, studied theology with Dr. Strong and Dr. Smalley, of Connecticut, and was ordained pastor of the Congregational church at Clinton, March 25, 1793. The country around was then little better than a wilderness. The church had no meeting-house, and the ordination services were attended in the open air, for want of a building in the settlement large enough for the occasion, the people being attracted from all the country around by so novel and interesting an event as the ordination of a minister in that new country. Mr. Norton proved to be a most devoted, self-denying, useful, and successful pastor, retaining his pastorate for nearly forty years, and dying at Clinton, May 10, 1853, aged eighty-seven years.*

The church retained its Congregational organization during Dr. Norton's entire pastorate, and under his immediate successors. In 1860 the Rev. E. Y. Swift was the pastor, and could report a church membership of two hundred and fifty-one souls. In 1865 the Rev. Albert Erdman was supplying the pulpit, and its membership was reported at two hundred and thirty. The next year the name of Clinton Congregational Church dropped from our denominational list, not again to appear.

* *Sprague's Annals*, Trin. Cong., 11, 332-33.

The Paris Congregational church proved a prosperous and stable body, and is still reckoned among the Congregational churches of New York. Two of its earliest pastors were the Rev. Eliphalet Steele and Rev. William R. Weeks. According to the report of the Rev. Caleb Alexander, a missionary of the Massachusetts Society, who visited Paris in September, 1801, there were then no less than four Congregational churches in the town, in a population of nearly five thousand souls; and, what is most noticeable, he reports all these churches, at that time, in a prosperous condition.*

The church of Westmoreland, also, still keeps its honored place as one of the oldest Congregational churches in Western New York. The Rev. Joel Bradley was, probably, the first pastor of this church, being ordained in the summer of 1793.† Its membership in 1879 was one hundred and sixty-six.

In 1792 a Congregational church was formed at Franklin, Delaware county, perhaps a little east

* "Tuesday, September 1 [1801]. Rode to Paris. Sixteen years ago Paris was an uncultivated wilderness. It now contains 4,726 inhabitants, four parishes, and four Congregational churches. The Rev. Eliphalet Steele is pastor of the First Church, and the Rev. Mr. Eastman of the Fourth Church. In all the parishes there has been an uncommon attention to religion, deep convictions, and many conversions." — Mr. Alexander's Report in *Mass. Mass. Mag.*, 1, 70.

† *The Narrative of the Missions of the Connecticut General Association, 1794*, p. 6.

of the undefined boundary line of Western New York, but west of the Catskill mountains. In 1793 another Congregational church, of forty-two members, was formed at Walton, in the same county of Delaware, by Rev. David Huntington; and still another, at Bainbridge, in the southeastern corner of the adjoining county of Chenango. This last-named church, if still in existence, has dropped from our denominational list, not having been reported since 1874. Franklin and Walton still, however, hold on their way, growing and prospering under their ancient organization. Franklin reported four hundred and thirteen communicants in 1879; and Walton, three hundred and thirty-three.

Another Congregational church, with twenty-eight members, was organized this same year (1793) by the Rev. David Huntington, at Hamden, Delaware county; and still another, at Whitestown, Oneida county, by the Rev. Samuel Eells.* Both of these gentlemen were missionaries of the Connecticut General Association. It was also during this year that the Rev. Ira Condict, a missionary of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, organized a Congregational church at Palmyra, in Wayne county, on the borders of Lake Ontario.

About 1798 the Rev. Joel Chapin was ordained pastor of the Congregational church in Jericho,

* *Narrative, etc.*, 1794, p. 9.

now North Bainbridge, in the southeastern corner of Chenango county. The church was organized in 1793, but had been destitute of a pastor until that time. This was, probably, the first ordination in all that country west of Utica. Mr. Chapin proved a faithful, useful and successful minister. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, in the class of 1791. He died in 1845, aged eighty-four years.*

The town of Pompey, in the southeastern part of Onondaga county, was settled on or before 1793; and a Congregational church was organized there at an early date. It was a prosperous church and increased in numbers until it had three hundred and more communicants. It was connected with the Middle Congregational Association; and when that body united with the Presbytery of Onondaga it carried this church with it, and it has not yet returned to its first love.†

In July, 1794, a Congregational church of seventeen members was organized at Sherburne, in the northeastern corner of Chenango county, not far from the centre of the State, by the Rev. Mr. Campbell, said to have been a Connecticut missionary. This church has continued faithful to its foundation principles, and reported in 1878 a

* *Hotchkiss*, 67; *Allen's Dict*; *Cong. Quar.*, statistics New York, 1874.

† *Hotchkiss*, 815-16.

membership of two hundred and thirty-one. This town was originally settled by a colony from Kent, Conn. They first went to Duanesburgh, near Albany, and thence removed in a body to Sherburne in the spring of 1793.*

In the summer of 1794 the Rev. Aaron Kinne, a Congregational missionary from Connecticut, visited Geneva, at the head of Lake Geneva, Ontario county, and drew up the articles for a Congregational church. Whether or not a church was actually formed at that time does not appear.†

The town of Nelson was first settled in 1794, by a company from Vermont, and most of the early inhabitants were from that State and from Massachusetts and New Hampshire. A Congregational church was organized there at an early period. Nelson is situate in Madison county, near the geographical centre of the State. The church was connected with the Union Association, and remained faithful to its original order until after that ministerial association went into the Presbytery. It has never since—whatever it may have been before—been a prosperous church.‡

In 1795 the Rev. Zadoc Hunn, an educated and

* *Hotchkiss* 20 68. Mr Campbell is not reported among the Connecticut missionaries who visited Western New York in 1791.

† *Narrative of Conn. Missions*, 1796, p. 12. *Hotchkiss*, 386-80.

‡ *Hotchkiss*, 307.

devoted Congregationalist from Berkshire county, Mass., moved with his family to the neighborhood of Canandaigua, near what is now Bristol. He is believed to have been the first evangelical minister who settled permanently in that section of New York. He devoted himself to the work of the ministry in the destitute settlements around him, and continued his useful work to the time of his death, May 12, 1801.

In the autumn of 1796 the Rev. Ammi R. Robins, a missionary of the Connecticut General Association, organized a Congregational church of about twenty members, at the "Royal Grant," a flourishing settlement about ten miles from the Mohawk river. And at Pompey, in the southeastern part of Onondaga county, he organized another Congregational church at about the same time. This neighborhood began to be settled as early as 1793, chiefly by New England people, and this church of twenty-five members was formed mostly of members of Congregational churches who had immigrated from Connecticut.* The church at Pompey was a prosperous organization, and increased from year to year until it contained three hundred and more communicants. When the "Middle Association" was formed in 1804, this church united with it and was carried over to Presbyterianism, by the action of that body in uniting with the Synod

* *Narrative*, etc., 1797, p. 7.

of Albany, in 1807-08. This disposition of the local Congregational Associations in New York, to unite with Presbyteries for the sake of good fellowship, proved more injurious to Congregationalism than the Plan of Union, or any other measure which contributed to supplant the polity of the early churches in the State of New York; and, perhaps it may be said, in the entire Western country.*

The Congregational church of Madison, in the southeasterly part of Madison county, also dates from 1796. It still holds its place among the churches of the Puritans, and reported a hundred and nine members in 1879.

In 1796 a church of sixteen members was formed at East Bloomfield, in the northwestern part of Ontario county. The Rev. Zadoc Hann assisted in this organization and became a member of this church. "Nearly all the first settlers [in East Bloomfield] were from Connecticut; many from Bethlehem. . . . They were intelligent, strong-minded farmers, most of them Christians. Mr. Williston and Mr. Bushnell had been there, and God had displayed the glory of his grace in those ends of the earth." This is the record of a Connecticut gentleman, who visited the place in the winter of 1801, with the Rev. David Bacon, who preached to this church five

* *Hotchkiss*, 316-16; *Minutes N. Y. Gen. Assn.*, 1843, Appendix, pp. 39-41.

weeks, when on his way to Michigan.* In December of the same year another Congregational church was organized at South Bristol, adjoining Bloomfield on the south. Three years later a Congregational church was formed in West Bloomfield, and another in North Bristol. All of these churches have passed away, but there is a Congregational church of modern date in West Bloomfield, with one hundred and twenty-five members, and a small one in Bristol. The settlement of West Bloomfield began as early as 1786-89. Colonel Peregrine Gardner, of Norwich, Conn., and his family, were the first settlers. Others speedily followed from Granville, Mass., and Guilford and Lyme, Conn. Though religious worship was maintained by the first settlers, aided occasionally by an itinerant missionary, a church was not organized among them until about the time of the great revival in 1797-99. The church consisted at first of nineteen members. The organization was effected by the Rev. Messrs. Avery and Bushnell, Connecticut missionaries.†

In 1797 Congregational churches were planted at Lisle, in the northwest corner of Broome

* Life of David Bacon in *Cong. Quar.*, vol. xviii, p. 261.

† Hotchkiss, 29, 30, 33-36; Allen's *B. D.*, art. "P. Gardner."

Hotchkiss says that in 1799 there were no less than three Congregational churches in Bloomfield, p. 33. Some of the ancient townships were as large as whole modern counties. Bloomfield township was one of these.

County, bordering on Pennsylvania; and at Marshall, in the southern part of Oneida county, near the centre of the State. Rev. Seth Wiliston was the first pastor of the church at Lisle. Amidst all the adverse influences which surrounded them, both of these churches maintained their ecclesiastical integrity until 1834, when the church at Lisle was received under the care of the Presbytery of Cortland. In 1868, however, it returned to its original polity. Since 1874, the church at Marshall has become extinct or has changed its ecclesiastical status.*

The Congregational church in Harpersfield, in the northeast corner of Delaware county, which still holds its place in our minutes, was organized in 1798; the Rev. Stephen Fenn being its first pastor.

In 1798 a Congregational church was formed at Camden, in the northwestern corner of Oneida county; and another at Bridgewater, in the extreme southeastern corner of the same county. Both of these churches still maintain their original polity; Camden reporting in 1879 a membership of two hundred and eighteen, and Bridgewater of ninety-two persons.

Camden was first settled about 1797. The church was formed at Paris, by the Rev. Mr. Steele, in 1798; and "when they had covenanted

* *Hatchers*, 427; *Cons. Narrative*, 1802, p. 4; *Coop. Quar.*, January, 1874, p. 160.

together they went as a band of brothers into the wilderness, where they constantly attended to the ordinances of God," though without a pastor.

The "First Congregational Church in the Town of Milton," now Genoa, was organized August 13, 1798; the Rev. Messrs. Reuben Parmele, Ezra Woodworth and Jacob Cram assisting on the occasion. The number of members at its organization was sixteen, ten males and six females, one half of whom were from Connecticut, and all of whom had been members of other churches. The church prospered and increased, and was greatly favored with revivals of religion, which added largely to its membership and influence. It belonged originally to the Middle Association, and when that body went into Presbytery it dragged this large and prosperous church after it. In 1831 the church voted to return to its original polity; and, though it may be still connected with Presbytery, its affairs are now managed by the brethren without the intervention of a Session.*

At or about the same time (1798) Congregational churches were formed at Skaneateles, in the western part of Onondaga county; and at Aurelius, near the northern end of Cayuga lake.

The revival year of 1799 added at least twelve churches to the Congregational sisterhood in

* *Hotchkiss*, 356-67.

Western New York. One of these was in the town of Oxford, on the Chenango river, near the centre of Chenango county. This town was settled chiefly by New England people in 1791; and in 1794 they had an incorporated academy and a building for its accommodation—the first frame building raised in the town—which was used for many years as a meeting-house as well, the principal of the academy, Rev. Uri Tracy, preaching to the people when other supplies could not be had. In 1799 a Congregational church was organized.

Whitestown or Whitesborough—so called in honor of Hugh White, of Middletown, Conn., the first settler in the town, about 1784—was originally an immense township, some forty miles long, in the very centre of the State, a territory now occupied by thirteen different towns. Its first settlers were largely New England people, whose general quality may be estimated by the fact, that, of all the applicants at the land office during four years' time, for land in Nelson, one of the thirteen towns, but a single man was found who could not write his own name.

The first Congregational church in this great borough was formed in Cazenovia, in 1799, by the Rev. Joshua Leonard. Beginning with nine members, it grew to one hundred and twenty-seven in fourteen years. It was originally connected with the Middle Association, and went with it into the Presbytery of Onondaga.

It was in 1799, also, that Congregational churches were formed in North Bristol, West Bloomfield, Victor, Canandaigua—all in Ontario county; and in Locke, and in Milan, a village of Locke, in Cayuga county; all of which have gone out from us except the church at Canandaigua, which is still a live and prosperous Congregational body, with a membership of three hundred and forty-four souls.

During the religious harvest-year of 1800, eighteen new churches at least were gathered in Western and Central New York, chiefly, if not entirely, by Congregational ministers. But of them all, only that at Riga, in Monroe county, remains on the Congregational list, and that is said to have been organized in 1809, instead of 1800.*

The first ordination ever witnessed in the "Genesee country" was in February, 1800, at Canandaigua, when the Rev. Timothy Field was settled over the Congregational church there. And on the 12th of June of the same year, the Rev. Joseph Grover was installed pastor of the Congregational church at Bristol, in the same county of Ontario.

* The churches—chiefly if not altogether Congregational— which appear to have been formed during the revival year 1800, were in Litchfield, Bergen, Riga, Prattsburgh, Phelps, Marion, Stonetown, Elbridge, Oswego Creek, Springfield, Canillus, in No. 8, and No. 9, in Penfield, Solon, Scipio, Sunderland and Delhi.

On the 7th of October, 1800, Mr. Williston reported to the Connecticut Missionary Society a summary of missionary work in Western New York, for 1799 and 1800. From this we learn that in the beginning of 1799 there was but just one small church of nine members (formed in 1796) in Rensselaer county, at Pittstown, which had a Congregational or Presbyterian pastor. There was at the same time a church at Bloomfield, No. 10; and two poor, disorganized Presbyterian churches in other parts of Ontario county. This was all that that "country" could boast of in January, 1799. But in October, 1800, there were Congregational churches as follows: at Canandaigua, of twenty members; at Bloomfield, No. 11, of twenty members; at Bloomfield, No. 10, Fourth Range, of nearly seventy members; at No. 10, Fifth Range, of twenty-four members; at Bristol, No. 9, of sixty-seven members; at No. 8, of twenty-two members; at Middletown, of twelve members; and at Charleston, of twenty members or more, which had just been reorganized on the Congregational platform. Four of these churches had settled pastors since the revival in 1799; and they were all united in a Congregational Association. Most of this good fruit, he says, was the produce of the revival in Ontario county.*

During the next three years, 1801-03, at least

* *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, 1, 308 —.

twenty-two churches were organized in that great missionary field—most if not all of them Congregationally.

The organization of one of these churches—that at Homer, Cortland county—illustrates quite forcibly the right way to gather a new church in a new country.

The town of Homer, twenty-seven miles south of Syracuse, was first settled in 1791-95. One of the first settlers was a Baptist, and another was a Presbyterian; but the great majority were New England Congregationalists, chiefly from Brimfield, Mass., and Farmington, Conn. In 1798 the town was visited by that indefatigable home missionary, Seth Williston, whose labors were blessed to the reviving of the Christians in the settlement and the hopeful conversion of quite a number of other persons; which led to the desire on the part of the people that there should be a church in the settlement. But immediately there appeared an unexpected obstacle in the way—What sort of a church should be formed? A Baptist, a Presbyterian, or a Congregational church? "Esquire Miller," an excellent and influential man, but withal a very rigid Presbyterian, insisted that the church should be after the Westminster model; and the Baptist would have been very glad to have had it after his model; but the majority were otherwise minded. So the work of building a church was made to cease. One morning, however, a mother

in Israel — a sort of "wise woman of Tekoah" — arose from her sleepless couch with a simple and effectual solution of the difficulty in her mind. She said to her husband: "I have lain awake all night praying for light about forming a church here; and God has answered my prayer. Do you take a paper and get the names of all who wish to unite in forming a Calvinistic Congregational church; and others may join with us if they please."

This was in very deed an inspiration, and it worked like a charm. The good man of the house readily obtained fourteen names to his paper, and the "Calvinistic Congregational Church of Homer" was formed by Rev. Hugh Wallis, of Solon, on the 12th of October, 1801. As might have been predicted, this church has proved a stable and prosperous body; and its fourteen members with which it began in 1801 have grown to three hundred and ninety. As it was born in a revival, so it has lived by revivals, having been repeatedly visited with "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord" — adding hundreds to their membership; in one pastorate of eleven years, four hundred and seventy-three souls.*

The Rev. John Taylor, a missionary of the Hampshire County (Massachusetts) Missionary Society, visited the Mohawk and Black river

* *Hutchins's Hist. Chhs. in Western New York*, 420-22.

country in 1802. He found, besides the flourishing church at Clinton, with its two hundred and forty members, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Asahel S. Norton, a small Congregational church at Saugersfield (Sangerfield), in the southern part of Oneida county; another in the northeastern part of the county, at Steuben, of thirty members, formed in 1801; another at Western, in the northern part of the same county, containing eighteen members; one at Camden, in the northwestern part of the county; one at Redfield, in the eastern part of Oswego county, the inhabitants of which he calls "a regular people, all Congregationalists;" another at Sandy Creek, in the northwest corner of the same county; another at Champion, still further north, in the easterly part of Jefferson county, where "the people in general are Congregationalists;" one at Norway, in the northern part of Herkimer county; and still another, which he does not name, four miles from Western. He organized a church at Turin, in Lewis county; and another at No. 4, of twelve members.* These

*See *Documentary History of New York*, octavo edition, vol. III, pp. 1112-13, 1115-24, *et passim*. Compare *Cong. Quar.* of January, 1800, pp. 38-39, with the statistics in *Cong. Quar.* of 1874. The author of this Report, the Rev. John Taylor, lived in New York from about 1816 to 1832, and enjoyed the sobriquet of "Bishop Taylor" for his unwavering adherence to New Testament church polity and faith amidst the prevailing degeneracy of the times, and his great activity and extensive influence through Central and Western New York, in gathering Congre-

churches, it will be seen by a glance at the map, are all in the northwestern part of the State. Some of them have come under our notice before—as Clinton, Steuben and Camden; but the others are all new to us, and all except Camden and Champion are now unknown as Congregational churches.

In 1804-05 the Massachusetts Missionary Society sent Rev. David Smith into the Black river country, New York, where he labored, in season and out of season, for about six months. In his report, dated October 29, 1804, he says: "In most of the towns churches are formed, many of

the school churches, and in confirming them in the faith and order
there delivered to the saints.

The Hon Henry W Taylor, of the Supreme Court of New York, was the worthy son of this godly sire. He, too, was a staunch Congregationalist, "who always took a stand for the right, and was bold, fearless, and decided in his opinions and utterances. By many he was regarded as ultra in his views; but all conceded that he was a man of ability and sterling integrity" — MS Letter from Hon. Abner Haxelme to the author.

In a letter to Mr. Hazeltine, who had applied to him on my behalf for information, Judge Taylor says: "I suppose the Presbyterians in the region of the North river were much the most numerous, but in the northern and western portion of the State I think, originally, Congregationalists counted three to one. But they have never shown the least *esprit de corps*; while the Presbyterian clergy have always kept uppermost the idea of Presbyterism. No more ingenious a system to accomplish this end could have been devised than the plan of union. . . . For forty years the dream, day and night, of my life has been to witness the establishment of a Congregational college in Western New York." — *Excerpt* from Judge Taylor's letter to Mr. Hazeltine, dated Canandaigua, March 30, 1867.

which consist of seventy or eighty, or from fifty to one hundred members, and are in a flourishing state; but as yet very few have obtained ministers. In numbers of places the people are very desirous of obtaining candidates for settling. I found very encouraging attention to preaching in almost all places, and was pressed above measure by the solicitations and tears of many, to stay longer with them, or to visit them again. Indeed, it was extremely difficult and painful to leave them. Many times, after preaching in the forenoon, the afternoon, and evening, the people would refuse to go away, and still hold me in religious conversation, interesting inquiry, or serious conference until midnight, and sometimes until one, and even two o'clock in the morning; when I have been obliged to request them to retire." "

In the autumn of 1802, the Rev. David Higgins, of Connecticut, accepted a call from the Congregational church in Aurelius, and was in-

* *Mass. Miss. Mag.*, 11, 246-47; 11, 9, 349-52.

This venerable missionary, David Smith, was a familiar friend of my father, who was deeply interested in home missions, was one of the original founders of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, and its treasurer for some years. And I remember well the dignified and gentlemanly old missionary, a tall, handsome man, an earnest, enthusiastic Christian, who used to discuss religious topics by the hour with my venerable father. I can easily understand why anxious inquirers should have hung upon his words when preaching, and held him in conference till midnight, and parted from him with tears and entreaties.

stalled pastor on the 9th of October. On the 5th of January, 1803, the Rev. Hugh Wallis was installed over the church at Pompey, "on the east hill;" and on the 2d of February, the Rev. Nathan Darrow was ordained over the church in Homer. These ministers were the first Congregationalists, and probably the first of any religious denomination, to settle on the Military Grant, which at that time contained thirty thousand inhabitants.

This grant was a tract of land some seventy miles long and fifty wide, containing more than a million acres, chiefly in Onondaga and Cayuga counties, which was set apart by the legislature of New York as bounty land for the State soldiers of the Revolution; portions of which were very rapidly settled, largely by New England people.

In 1803 the Rev. Levi Nelson, a missionary of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, in the valley of the Mohawk and along the Black river, reported to the society that in Steuben, within two or three years, there had been an attention to religion and a church formed; and that in the town of Weston [Western], west of Steuben, "the [Congregationalists] professors were formed into a church and hold their meetings every Sabbath." *

* *Mass. Miss. Mag.*, i, 255-68, 313-16.

I suppose this good missionary, Levi Nelson, was the settled pastor of the Congregational church in Lisbon, Conn., from December, 1804, to December, 1855, when he died.

Mr. Nelson found an organized church in No. 4 township; which, he says, "appears orthodox, and I hope in some measure contends for the faith which was once delivered to the saints." He adds: "The members of this church have never failed of meeting every Sabbath since the place was first settled," about 1798.

The towns visited by our New England missionaries in the vicinity of the Black river, which rises in Herkimer county and flows in a north-westerly direction through Lewis and Jefferson counties, into Lake Ontario at Sackett's Harbor, were originally settled by New Englanders, who, having themselves enjoyed the benefits of religious institutions, wished their posterity to enjoy the same; and therefore cordially welcomed the missionaries and anxiously desired to have Congregational pastors settled among them. But these could not be readily found, while ministers of Presbyterian proclivities were at hand and could be easily obtained. These pastors gradually led their flocks into the green pastures and beside the still waters of Presbyterianism, among other sheep which, though under the care of the Great Shepherd, were not of this fold.

From the preceding sketch it appears that New York — northern, central, and southern, from Canada to the Pennsylvania boundary — was not only settled largely by New England people, but for about thirty years — from 1784 to 1814 — was

largely indebted to New England for its religious teachers. In 1812-13 Connecticut was supporting in part, or entirely, thirty-four missionaries there, the majority of whom were pastors of churches, which they or their predecessors had formed. And these churches and missionaries extended from Clinton and Franklin counties, in the extreme northeastern corner of the State, to Tioga, Chenango, Delaware and Sullivan in the central southern part.

But Connecticut was not alone in this important work. The Massachusetts Missionary Society was an early and earnest co-laborer here; for though the destitute regions at the northward and eastward—particularly in the "District of Maine"—were her special field of labor, yet from the year 1800 to the year 1811, there was not a year that the Massachusetts Missionary Society had not one or more missionaries among the new settlements of New York, preaching the gospel, organizing churches, and preparing the way for a permanent ministry there. For we are told by one of these missionaries, in 1805,*

* Rev. Jacob Cram's Report, July 20, 1805, in *Mass. Mus. Mon.* 111, 363-86.

Mr. Hotchkiss says: "In 1803 and 1804 no appointments for this field were made [by the Massachusetts Missionary Society], or if made were not fulfilled"—p. 184. He, however, is mistaken: for the Rev. David Smith reported to the society, October 29, 1804, as follows: "Yesterday I returned home from my mission to the new settlements in the northwestern parts of the State of New York, having been out upwards of seventeen

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* Rev. Jacob Cram's Report, July 26, 1805, in *Mass. Miss. Socy.*, III, 282-83.

Mr. Hucella says: "In 1803 and 1804 no appointments for this field were made (by the Massachusetts Missionary Society), or if made were not fulfilled"—p. 184. He, however, is mistaken: for the Rev. David Smith reported to the society, October 22, 1804, as follows: "Yesterday I returned home from my mission to the new settlements in the northwestern parts of the State of New York, having been out upwards of seventeen

that, "since the year 1800, not far from thirty regular preachers of the word of life have come to reside in the western counties of New York in places which have been visited by missionaries from the Massachusetts Missionary Society, and are now supported by the inhabitants." . . .

The Berkshire and Columbia counties Congregational Missionary Society also sent missionaries into this field for some fifteen years, from the year of its organization, in 1798. Mr. Hotchkiss gives the names of sixteen different ministers who labored in this field, from time to time, under the direction of this society.*

The Hampshire Missionary Society, in Western Massachusetts, also sent missionaries to New York as early as 1803; and even the New Hampshire Missionary Society, with all its own local destitu-

weeks; during which time I rode 1,320 miles, preached eighty-eight sermons, administered the Lord's Supper five times, baptized thirty-five children, admitted eighteen persons into the church, attended fourteen conferences and five church meetings, visited seven schools and made one hundred and fifty-seven family visits, attended three funerals, and visited nine sick persons." A pretty fair record of four months' work. — See the *Mass. Mus. Mag.*, 11, 245.

The Rev. Mr. Cram, another of the missionaries of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, was travelling and preaching in different parts of New York in 1803. — See his journal, also in *Mass. Mus. Mag.*, 1, 67-71. And during the summer of the same year (1803) the Rev. Levi Nelson, another Massachusetts Missionary, was hard at work in Western New York. — See his journal in *Mass. Mus. Mag.*, 1, 265-68, 313; also, 11, 5.

* *New York Mus. Mag.*, 111, 401-03. Hotchkiss, 185, 186.

tions to look after, felt constrained to send some of its missionaries into the more extensive destitutions of New York.

Thus we find that the Congregational churches all over New England were interested fellow-laborers in this great field of Northern, Central and Southern New York, from the very beginning of settlements there until the people were able to support their own ministers.

And now, though we cannot say exactly how many churches were actually organized by our missionaries between the years 1784 and 1816, nor how many of these were at the start strictly Congregational, yet we do know and can say that the number was large; and down to about 1802-06, when the plan of union began to work, we have every reason to believe that nearly all the churches formed by New England missionaries were Congregational. Why should they have been otherwise? * And these churches were scattered over the whole country, from the Massachusetts and Connecticut lines on the east, to the Pennsylvania line and that of the lakes on the

* The Rev. John Spencer, who was licensed to preach by the Northern Associated Presbytery, in October, 1800, organized nearly all the churches in Oneida county and neighborhood, and all of them on the Congregational platform. — *MS Letter from Mr Hareline* The Committee of the General Association of Massachusetts, in 1840, stated that Mr. Spencer, between 1804 and 1810, formed about thirty churches on the model of those planted by the Pilgrim fathers. — See *New England Puritan*, No. 27.

north, south and west. Thus was New York fairly preempted by Congregationalism and pre-occupied too; and we may readily believe Mr. Dill's statement that, previous to the year 1816, at least two hundred Congregational churches had been gathered in New York.* For half that number and more — one hundred and eighteen — have come under our own notice, as having been organized previously to 1806 even; about ninety of them in Central and Western New York. And this does not include a considerable number of churches noticed but not named in the missionary reports. For example, the Massachusetts Missionary Society reports that, in the course of a missionary tour of sixteen weeks in Western New York, Rev. Mr. Alexander "gathered two churches and assisted in gathering another." And so Mr. Wines, another missionary, is reported to have "assisted in gathering two churches;" but the names or location of these churches are not given.† Just so the Berkshire and Columbia Society reports seven churches formed in "the Western Country" by its missionaries, in 1799-1801, without naming one of them.‡

Thus were churches gathered in every direction; and most of them were grouped in ecclesiastical associations or conferences for mutual

* *Congregationalism in Western New York. Its Rise, Decline and Revival.* By James H. Dill. Rochester. 1860.

† *Mass. Miss. Mag.*, i, 67.

‡ *New York Miss. Mag.*, iii, 401-06.

Help. In 1809 the Rev. Mr. Williston, in summarizing the work of thirteen years, of himself and others, says: "It may serve to give you some idea of the progress of the gospel and of gospel establishments in this Western country, to be informed, that since the time above specified, there have been formed five Associations, answering to the Consociations of Connecticut, composed of ministers and churches, viz.: the Oneida, Ontario, Middle, Susquehanna and Union Associations. The Middle Association, which has its seat on the Military Tract; has seventeen or eighteen ministers in it, and a greater number of churches. This is perhaps the largest of the Associations." *

But these Congregational Associations were not the first nor the only ones that once flourished in New York. They were, in fact, only those which had been formed between 1800 and 1809. In the course of the next two years the Luzerne and the Black River Associations were added to this list.

The first appearance of anything like a Congregational Association in New York was in 1769-70, when Rev. Abner Reeve, of Blooming Grove (Washingtonville), Orange county, New York, Rev. Moses Tuttle, of the New York Pres-

* Narrative, etc., of the Miss. Soc. of Conn., 1809, p. 11. In 1808 the Oneida Association embraced twenty-five churches and fourteen ministers.

bytery, and Rev. Mr. Dorbe, of Parsippany, New Jersey, "adopted the Independent scheme and withdrew from Presbytery." * The next considerable movement in the same direction was in 1779-80, when four ministers and four churches, in Southern New York and New Jersey, withdrew from Presbytery and formed "The Associated Presbytery of Morris County." This was a genuine Congregational organization, notwithstanding its name, and was the model after which other kindred Associations were formed, both in New York and New Jersey. This was so useful and popular an organization, particularly in the counties east of the Hudson river, that, in 1791-92, it was thought best to organize a similar Association, to be called "The Associated Presbytery of Westchester." A third Association, on the same model, was formed in November, 1793, called "The Northern Associated Presbytery in the State of New York." This, like the other two, was a ministerial association and county conference combined. In 1820 this body embraced the Congregational churches and ministers in five counties in the eastern and central part of the State — probably twenty ministers and as many churches.†

* Webster's *Hist. Presbyterian Chh.*, 684-69; Gillett's *Hist. Presbyterian* (1A, 1, 211), note.

† I am indebted to Dr. S. G.orton for many particulars about this Association of which he was a member in 1820-28 — more than I have room for, I am sorry to say — MS Letter furnished by Mr. Hazeltine, of Jamestown, N. Y.

A fourth — "The Saratoga Associated Presbytery" — was organized February 3, 1807, at Milton, near the centre of Saratoga county, on the west side of the Hudson. This became a strong and influential body, gathering to itself the ministers and churches of Saratoga, Columbia, Greene, Warren, Otsego and Delaware counties.

To bind these Associations together, a plan was formed, in 1794, for the maintenance of a regular correspondence between them, and for holding an annual meeting of their delegates to consult for the common good.* In 1796 these delegates published "a brief account of the Associated Presbyteries," and gave "a general view of their sentiments concerning religion and ecclesiastical order." In this, they declared these Associations to be "essentially Calvinistic, Edwardean or Hopkinsonian" in doctrine — though they called no man Father; and in ecclesiastical order, all Congregationalists or associated Independents.

These organized bodies, after years of useful prosperity, were gradually supplanted by the Associations or Consociations which have already been named, between 1800 and 1810; the convenience of the churches and ministers, as they multiplied, seeming to require this. This second crop of ecclesiastical Associations for a time pros-

* I have before me one of the original letters — written by the "Northern Associated Presbytery" to their sister Associations, reporting their own doings and experiences in the course of the year preceding — and a very pleasant and fraternal letter it is.

pered greatly;* and in 1804-06 they had under consideration the expediency of forming a General Association, as a common bond of union for all the Congregational churches in the State. But, unfortunately, the plan was not generally approved, and so nothing was done—to the great loss of Congregationalism.

But while this work was being done by the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians were almost an unknown power in Western New York, having in 1801 not more than five or six churches there, half of which were such feeble bodies that it was deemed expedient to reorganize them Congregationally, in order to preserve their lives.

The truth is, that, previous to 1803, the Presbyterians in that country were but feeble folk, doing very little missionary work in the State. The Synod of New York, to be sure, as early as 1766 ordered that collections be taken up toward a fund to support home missions. But so far as appears, little or nothing was done in that direction for more than twenty years. In 1789 the General Assembly “took into consideration the sending of missionaries among the frontier settlements;” and in the course of a year or more had two missionaries at work in New York and Pennsylvania! In

*The semi-annual meetings of these Associations were occasions of great popular interest, and attracted crowds from the whole neighborhood in which they were held.

1801 the Assembly appointed a Standing Committee on Missions; and in 1802 this Committee had under its care just nine Presbyterian missionaries for the whole of the United States, while the Congregationalists were supporting seven or more missionaries in New York and Pennsylvania alone.*

From about this time, however, or as soon as the plan of union could be gotten into full operation, the Presbyterian church had little else to do in Western New York but to go in and possess the land. They acted as though the Master had said to them: "I sent you to reap that whereon ye bestowed no labor; other men labored and ye are entered into their labors!" Gradually and cautiously they pushed into this great missionary field, persuaded the ministers to abandon their Associations, and the churches to identify themselves with Presbytery, until Congregationalism was all but supplanted in that Western country where it had been early planted and assiduously supported in advance of all other polities.

If any one is curious to know exactly how this work of disintegration was effected—how scores of Congregational churches, with their Associa-

*See *Acts and Proceedings of the Presbyterian Chh., for 1789*; *Extracts from Minutes of Gen. Assembly, 1802*; *The Catastrophe of the Presbyterian Chh., 1837*, chap. ii; *The Assembly's Inquest*, p. 57; *Narrative of the Missions of the Conn. Gen. Association, from 1794 to 1803*.

tions and Consociations, could be so rapidly absorbed by Presbyterianism — the answer is, it was done mainly by the skilful use of one of the most effective ecclesiastical organizations ever devised; a complete working body politic; a General Assembly, Synods, Presbyteries, Church Sessions. Whatever the head devised, the feet and hands and fingers were ready to undertake. Presbyterianism in Western New York reminds one of the virtuous woman described by Solomon, who laid her hands to the spindle, and her hands held the distaff; but while she stretched out her hands to the poor, she was careful to make coverings of tapestry for herself, and such provision for her husband that he was known in the gate when he sat among the elders of the land.

The few excellent men who represented the Presbyterian church in Western New York in early times were faithful, hard-working Christians, devoted to the Master's service, and anxious to furnish the destitute people there with the bread of life; and they honestly believed, no doubt, that this could be best done by the establishment of Presbyterianism in all the land. They may even have thought it would be doing God's service to drive out Congregationalism and take possession of the houses and vineyards of their brethren; not at once, lest the land should become desolate; but by little and little, until Presbyterianism should be increased and inherit the land. At all events, this is just what they did;

And Congregationalists were cajoled into the belief that it was the Lord's will that it should be done.

Feeble Presbyteries went tottering in among flourishing Congregational churches, were kindly received and allowed to make themselves at home, and in return did what they could to proselyte these churches and their pastors. And, strange to say, these skeleton Presbyteries succeeded wonderfully in their wily work. "The lean-fleshed kine did eat the well-favoured and fat kine; and the thin ears devoured the rank and full ears." But, unlike the dream-"kine" and "ears," these fattened on that on which they fed.

This supplanting work, as has already been suggested, was done mainly by means of Presbyteries. These were the hands that were laid to the spindle—that drew the Congregational ministers and churches by scores into the bosom of the great hierarchy; the ministers most easily, and the churches by little and little; some resisting and going off into absolute Independency, rather than submit to Presbyterian rule.

Presbyteries were pushed into every corner of the country. It mattered little how few Presbyterians there might be in any locality, or whether indeed there were any at all. If policy dictated the erection of a Presbytery in a given neighborhood, it was done; and then the Congregationalists around were most politely invited to abandon their Associations and identify themselves with this organization. Thus the Oneida Presbytery was

erected in 1802, in a neighborhood in which there was not a single church, nor more than two ministers of that denomination; but where there were probably twelve or fifteen Congregational churches and a proportional number of ministers, all united and prospering in a Consociation, which at its formation, in 1800, had nine Congregational churches and four or more ministers, and in 1808 had twenty-five churches and fourteen ministers, nearly all of which, with the Consociation* itself, were shortly absorbed in the Presbytery.*

One cannot resist a feeling of admiration for the gentle audacity of these good Presbyterians, while he seriously questions the propriety of their conduct; just as "the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely" for himself, though very badly for his lord. We may, however, hesitate to apply to our Presbyterian brethren the Master's comment on this transaction: "For the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." No children of this world have ever shown more worldly wisdom than have the Presbyterians in getting possession of our new settlements.

"The Plan of Union" — which we are tempted to suspect was laid by those old semi-Presbyterian divines who administered the affairs of the Connecticut Missionary Society, on purpose to draw the ministers and churches in the new settle-

* See *Hatchin*, 48; *Dill*, 4; *Giddens*, 1, 441.

ments into substantial Presbyterianism — though it smoothed the way and facilitated the process of proselyting, must not be charged with all the mischief which was done to the cause of Congregationalism in Western New York. There was a supplementary plan devised, by which Congregational ministers and churches, while remaining such, were actually, and finally officially, brought into connection with Presbyteries. This plan was developed by the Presbytery of Albany as early as 1806, when they proposed "a plan of friendly correspondence" to the Northern Associate Presbytery — a thriving Congregational Association and Conference — to this effect: that friendly ministerial intercourse and exchanges should be maintained, with occasional communion at the Lord's Table — all very proper and becoming saints. But this was only the prelude to the important provision — the very gist of the plan — namely: that members of either ecclesiastical body, occasionally present at a meeting of the other body, should be invited to sit and act as corresponding members of the same.

A year's familiarity with each other's associational meetings prepared the way for another step toward actual union. In 1807 the Synod of Albany, which had just been made by dividing the old Albany Presbytery into three parts, and then erecting these into a Synod, received overtures from the Middle Congregational Association, the largest in the Western country, to become an in-

tegral part of the Synod; the Congregational churches to retain their organization and government intact, while their ministers and lay delegates should be admitted to all the rights and privileges of Presbyterian ministers and elders in the Synodical meetings; and all this on the simple condition that, while acting with the Synod, the Presbyterian standard of doctrine and government should be used. Supposing they were to reap all the benefits of organized Presbyterianism, while their churches retained all their Congregational liberties, the ministers went pretty readily into this specious arrangement; and the churches followed them, though still retaining their Congregational name. But after a time it was suggested that, as these churches were essentially Presbyterian by their intimate connection with the Presbyteries and Synods and the General Assembly of that church, they should just drop their old name and call themselves Presbyterian. And many of them good-naturedly did so, and were quietly enfolded in the bosom of the Presbyterian church of the United States, and reported in the yearly minutes of that church.*

These arrangements to unite the two denominations in Christian work and ecclesiastical fellowship, though attended with some friction from the

* See Gillett's *Hist. Presbyterianism in United States*, i, 441; *Digest of Proceedings of the Gen. Assembly*, 310, *New England Puritan*, newspaper, April, 1841.

first, were yet accepted by the great body of the good men of Western New York, especially the ministers, as on the whole the best that could be made for the new settlements; and so they were continued for thirty years or more, until entire Synods of union Presbyteries and churches had been built of these materials. Unionism finally, however, lost the favor of both parties—of the genuine Congregationalists, because it enticed so many of their ministers and churches into Presbyteries; and of the thorough-going Presbyterians, because these union ministers and churches, after all, had so little of the "true blue" Presbyterianism in them. So, in 1837, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church abrogated the "Plan of Union," and excised three entire Synods in New York, because they were regarded as generally tainted with Congregational errors of faith and practice. But as these Synods were cast off in company with the Western Reserve Synod, the Presbytery of Philadelphia, the American Home Missionary Society, and the American Education Society, they were disposed to regard the excision as an honor rather than a reproach.

This was the inglorious termination of the unwise attempt to enforce a union between two incongruous bodies; to make two walk together who were not agreed; to reconcile democracy and aristocracy in the government of the same church.

Thus, in process of time, all the old Associate Presbyteries, and nearly every one of the

local Congregational Associations which succeeded them, either disbanded and united with Presbyteries, or suspended operations; and Presbyterianism became visibly the *iam* of Western New York. But the eclipse, after all, was not total. The Black River Association retained its position as a Congregational body, and the Oneida Association was soon resuscitated, and other Associations ultimately appeared to take the place of the deceased ones.

In 1834-35 there remained in active life the Black River Association, with fifteen Congregational churches; the Oneida, with twenty-two churches; the Genesee Consociation, with fifteen churches; the Essex Consociation, with thirteen churches; the St. Lawrence, with nineteen churches; the Association of Western New York and the parts adjacent, near Pennsylvania, with nine churches; and the New York Association, embracing ten churches on Long Island, two in New Jersey, two in Pennsylvania and one in New York city; altogether representing one hundred and eight Congregational churches. Besides these, there was a very considerable number of unassociated churches of our order widely scattered over the State, struggling with poverty and isolation and even direct hostility.

Such, substantially, was the condition of Congregationalism when, in September, 1833, a third, and this time successful, movement was made to

organize a State Congregational Association. On the third Wednesday in May, 1834, fourteen ministers and four licentiates, with delegates from fourteen Congregational churches, met at Clinton, in Oneida county, and formed the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches of the State of New York. At the first regular meeting of this body, in August, 1835, only three District Associations out of seven were represented, and one hundred and six churches, including one in Pennsylvania, two in New Jersey and seven on Long Island. The whole membership of these churches was upwards of seven thousand.

The formation of a General Association was the beginning of a new era in New York Congregationalism. It brought together, for the first time, the ministers and churches of a common faith throughout the State, to their mutual surprise and delight at the number that had survived the trials of faith and patience to which they had been subjected for a third of a century and more; it furnished a common bond of union among them; it gave them courage and hope, and an impetus to every good work which they were disposed to undertake.

Five years of this impetus brought five additional District Associations into the Union—making eight instead of three; and twenty-two additional churches—making the whole number, in 1840, one hundred and twenty-eight; while fifteen

additional churches of our faith, some of them quite large, remained Independent churches.*

The Congregational churches and ministers of New York are now organized in ten District Associations and one Conference, and in a General Association which includes ten Pennsylvania churches. Besides these ecclesiastical organizations, there is the Manhattan Association of ten ministers and as many churches.

The number of Congregational churches in the State, in 1879, was two hundred and fifty-six; of ministers, two hundred and forty-five; and of communicants, thirty-three thousand one hundred and fifteen; a net gain of nine hundred and thirteen on the previous year.†

* For the materials of this sketch of New York Associations I am much indebted to manuscript communications from the Rev. Pindar Field, who was intimately acquainted with Congregational history in New York from 1826 to 1840, and was Registrar of the General Association.

The Rev. John Gibbs, of New York city, and the Rev. David Abel, of Saratoga county, have aided me most materially in my inquiries, by long written letters and sundry printed documents, covering the time from 1834 to 1840 particularly, which they have kindly furnished. My great regret is, that I am able to crowd into this sketch hardly a tenth of the matter which I had prepared from their copious materials.

† *Congregational Year-Book* for 1879.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS IN PENNSYLVANIA — IN WYOMING
VALLEY — SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA — NORTHWESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA — SUMMARY.

It is well understood that the Swedes, Dutch, Finns and English Quakers were early settlers in Pennsylvania; also, that Germans and Scotch-Irish were subsequently found in considerable numbers in that country. But is it as well known that New England Congregationalists were among the very earliest adventurers into Pennsylvania?

Connecticut claimed, under her original patent of 1631, the sovereignty of all Northern Pennsylvania — a strip of country sixty miles wide and five times as long from east to west; and rightfully, too, according to the letter of her patent.

But they had a still better right to that country by the purchase of it from the Indians. In 1640 — forty years before William Penn's grant and purchase of the country — a company of New Haven people bought of the Indians about half of the land in question, paying liberally for it — two thousand pounds in current New York money; and in 1641 began the actual settlement of the country by sending nearly fifty families into it to take possession and prepare the way for a large immigration. "This purchase," we are told by

Trumbull, "was made with a view to trade and for the settlement of churches in gospel order and purity." But the hostility of the Dutch, and a severe epidemic sickness which prevailed through all the settlements on the Delaware bay, so discouraged the prosecution of the enterprise that it was abandoned for the time.*

Between 1642 and 1651, repeated efforts were made to renew this settlement. But every effort failed, and the project was suffered, at last, to sleep for an entire century.

In 1753-54, however, it was revived with great enthusiasm, and many hundreds of persons became personally interested in planting New England settlements between the Delaware river and the Alleghany mountains. Large purchases of lands were made of the Six Nations for this purpose; embracing about seventy miles of territory from north to south and twice that from east to west; beginning ten miles east of the Susquehanna river, and including the whole Wyoming valley, rich and beautiful, and the country westward to the sources of the Alleghany river and the roots of the mountains.†

This large purchase was made by the "Connecticut Susquehanna Company," which at that time

* *Hist. Conn.*, i, 115, 120, 134; *Winthrop*, ii, 62, 70; *Holmes Ann.*, i, 260, 267, 273, 290.

† *Poetry and History of Wyoming*, by William L. Stone, 135-37, Appendix, 383-02.

numbered over six hundred stockholders. Another Connecticut land company, called the "Delaware Company," about the same time purchased largely toward the Delaware river and bay, and southward as far as the Susquehanna Company's land extended. The two purchases amounted to nearly five millions of acres,* or three times as much as all the cultivated land of Connecticut in 1870.

Arrangements were first made for the settlement of the Wyoming valley, and a detachment of colonists, with surveyors, was sent forward in 1755 to prepare the way. But on their arrival in the valley, the neighboring Indians were found in such a ferment, in consequence of General Braddock's disastrous defeat, that it was not deemed safe to attempt to lay out the settlement at that time. But in 1757 the Delaware Company succeeded in making a promising beginning at Cushetunk, on the Delaware river. Yet it was not until 1762 that the Susquehanna Company ventured again into the valley of the Wyoming. That year saw about two hundred hardy, enterprising New England people preparing for a settlement on the Susquehanna, near Mill creek, a fine, intersecting stream, a little north of the present town of Wilkesbarre. Here the forests were soon felled, log houses were built, large fields were sowed, and

* *History of Wyoming*, by Charles Minor, p. 146; cf. Stone, 182.

preparations generally were made for a permanent settlement. Returning to Connecticut to pass the winter, the pioneers were ready in the spring of 1763, with their families, and a considerable addition to their number of settlers, with live stock and all needed conveniences for frontier life, to return to the valley. Safely arrived, they resumed their work in the valley, and everything went prosperously until autumn, when the settlement was suddenly attacked by the Indians, and in a few hours utterly desolated and destroyed, the houses and crops burned, many of the inhabitants massacred in cold blood, and the remainder driven away from their pleasant homes.

It was six years before the company gathered courage to renew this enterprise. At length, however, in 1769, another company of resolute men was equipped and sent into the Wyoming valley. But, on their arrival, they found that the Pennsylvanians had anticipated them and taken possession of their lands. And now began a violent contest for the possession of this charming country. Five times the Yankees were driven out, and five times they returned, enforced from Connecticut; and finally, in 1771, made good their possession and drove the Pennymites from the land. From two to three hundred New England men were concerned in this dangerous undertaking, all pledged to "man their rights" at the hazard of their lives; and this they did most effectually.

For two years they lived in peace and prospered

abundantly; then an unsuccessful attempt was made against them by the Pennsylvanians. But in 1778, while the able-bodied men of the settlement were away in the American armies, the Tory colonel, John Butler, with a considerable body of Tories, Indians and British regulars, attacked the settlement, massacred hundreds of its inhabitants, and made the whole country around a desolation.*

In the summer of 1778, a few of the scattered inhabitants made their way back to their desolated homes, and began to rebuild their houses and resume their agricultural labors.

At the close of the Revolution, the spirit of emigration, which awoke all over New England, sent hundreds of new settlers to Wyoming; so that in 1784, the estimated population, notwithstanding all the losses of the preceding year, was about two thousand souls. And after further years of contest for their rights with Pennsylvania, this New England settlement finally conquered an enduring peace, and for about thirty years was a new Connecticut in the Middle States; cherishing the institutions and adopting the laws of the mother

* About three hundred persons were massacred, or perished in the attempt to escape.

It will give the reader some idea of the prosperity of this settlement before this massacre, and of the patriotic character of its settlers, to know that Wyoming raised about a thousand soldiers for the Revolutionary armies, and lost about one in ten of her able-bodied men in the war! The number of inhabitants, in 1776, was estimated at upwards of six thousand souls. — *Miner*, 241.

colony, and for nine years or more sending representatives to her General Assembly. Meeting-houses and school-houses were built in every settlement, lands were appropriated for the support of the ministers and the school teachers, and everything in the power of the settlers was done to make Wyoming valley a worthy representative of the Connecticut valley.*

Before the Revolution, there were seven distinct settlements in this valley, each of them five or six miles square, namely: Wilkes-Barre, named for those two sturdy English champions of American Independence, John Wilkes and Colonel Isaac Barre; Hanover, Plymouth, Kingston, Exeter, Pittston and Providence. Subsequently many other settlements were made. Some of the villages were tastefully and even elegantly laid out and built up.

We know not exactly how early the Wyoming people had a Congregational minister among them. But we do know that the Rev. Jacob Johnson was in Wilkesbarre as early as 1772, and in December of that year was offered fifty acres of land if he would "settle in the town as a gospel minister." In August, 1773, he received a formal call "to continue a settler with us as our gospel minister," at a salary of sixty pounds for the first year, and an increase annually until it amounted to one hundred pounds, £333 1-3. A town lot of four acres was also voted him.

* *Chapman's Sketch of Wyoming*, 179, 189, 194.

Mr. Johnson accepted this call, and remained with the people through all their subsequent trials and sufferings, to the time of his death, in 1794 or 1795, at the age of seventy-six years. He was a graduate of Yale in 1740, was settled at Groton, Conn., in 1748, and left behind him the reputation of a fine scholar and a popular preacher.*

The Rev. Elkanah Holmes was contemporary with Mr. Johnson a part of the time, preaching in Plymouth and Kingston, and for Mr. Johnson during his temporary absence.

The Rev. Seth Williston, Rev. James W. Woodward, son of Professor Woodward, of Dartmouth College, and the Rev. Jabez Chadwick, Congregational missionaries, were all preaching in the valley as early as 1802-08.

The first church in Wyoming valley was the Congregational church of Wilkesbarre, organized by the Rev. Mr. Woodward, assisted by Rev. Mr. Chapman, July 1, 1803. It consisted of twenty-seven persons. For three years it was without a pastor, until 1806, when Rev. Ard Hoyt was ordained. He remained with the church until November, 1817, when he offered his services to the American Board as a missionary among the

* *Stone*, 328; *Miner*, 140-43; *Allen's Biog. Dict.*; *MS. Letter* to the author from Rev. F. B. Hodge, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Wilkesbarre.

The good deacon, John Hurlbut, seems to have been an efficient helper of Mr. Johnson, even preaching for him when absent. He died in 1782. — *Miner*, 288, 304.

Cherokee Indians, with whom he labored successfully until his sudden death in 1828, at the age of fifty-seven years. For three or four years the church was again without a pastor; but sometime in 1821, it secured the Rev. Cyrus Gildersleeve, who remained its pastor until 1829. He was succeeded by that sturdy Irish Presbyterian, Rev. Nicholas Murray, alias "Kirwin," who, of course, took the church into Presbytery with all convenient despatch, where it has remained to this day.*

Another Congregational church was formed at Harford ("Nine Partners"), near the centre of old Luzerne, now Susquehanna county, probably by Mr. Williston, about 1803. During the winter of 1808-09, a protracted meeting had been held in the settlement, and a religious revival of much power had followed. In May, 1809, Mr. Walliston, who was a sort of overseer and bishop of all the new settlements in the neighborhood, spent two weeks in the town, devoted largely to the examination and preparation of candidates for the church. Forty-three were admitted at one time, thirty-seven of whom were young unmarried persons, thirty-two of whom were the children of pious parents; and eighteen of them were the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the Rev.

* *Narrative Conn. Mus. Soc.* for 1803; *M.S. Letter* from Rev. F. D. Hodge, pastor in 1875 of the First Wilkesburre Church, now Presbyterian, to whose courtesy I am much indebted.

Peter Thacher, of Attleborough, Mass.; who was the son of Rev. Peter Thacher, of Middleborough; who was the son of Rev. Peter Thacher, of Milton; who was the son of Rev. Thomas Thacher, of the Old South Church, Boston.*

As early as 1774, a settlement was begun by thirty Connecticut families on Wallenpaupack creek, thirty-five or forty miles northeast of Wakesbarre, in Pike county. This greatly prospered, so that in a year or two there were thriving plantations from this colony at Lackaway and Bozrah, as they were then called. One of these extended along the borders of the creek four and a half miles, and to every planter was allotted a farm one mile long from the creek back toward the mountains, and all of the same width on the creek. These planters were a religious people and strict observers of the Christian Sabbath, the whole population being called together every Sabbath day for public worship; and in default of a preacher, they listened to the reading of a sermon.

The stable character of these Wallenpaupack people appears in the fact that, in 1845, all the farms along the creek remained of the same size as when originally allotted, and with only two exceptions they were all owned by the direct descendants of the first settlers.†

* Compare *Narrative Conn. Miss. Soc.*, 1801-19, with *Conn. Essay Mag.* for 1866, pp. 426-27.

† *Minor*, 466-68.

SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

The early emigration of New England people into Pennsylvania was not confined to the north-eastern section of that territory, though it was largest in that direction. Many of them found their way southward as far as Philadelphia: for, in 1698, the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, of Hingham, Mass., was able to gather there enough for a Congregational church, of which he was pastor until his death in 1747. After that, the church slid into Presbyterianism, and had in modern times the celebrated and excellent Albert Barnes as its pastor. This church is still alive and flourishing, with a membership, in 1879, of five hundred and forty-eight persons.*

For a long time after the death of Mr. Andrews and the subsidence of his church into Presbytery, no successful movement was made to establish another Congregational church in Philadelphia. There was an Independent Presbyterian church there as early as 1800, or before, which subsequently maintained a prosperous existence for many years, under the pastoral care of Rev. John

* Dr. Sprague classes Mr. Andrews and his church with the Presbyterians, because he was connected with the Presbytery of Philadelphia. But scores of avowedly Congregational ministers and even churches in New York and elsewhere were early connected in some way with Presbyteries, and accordingly were so reported in the minutes of the General Assembly, and yet they were Congregationalists.

Chambers. But a Congregational church, pure and simple, there was not for nearly a century after 1741, among the multitudinous churches and the swarming thousands of people in Philadelphia.* This was not for lack of materials for such a church—for several such churches—among the thousands of New England people in the city; but because the current set so strongly in other directions, and the popular prejudice against New England theology and church polity was so deep, that Eastern people found it more pleasant to drift with the tide, and more advantageous to identify themselves with some of the dominant ecclesiastical organizations of the city, than to incur the trouble and cost and obloquy of an attempt to build up a Congregational church.† And further-

* In 1810 there were forty-five places of public worship in Philadelphia. Nine Presbyterian, four Protestant Episcopalian, four Methodist, four Roman Catholic, four Friends, five Baptist, three German Lutheran, two German Calvinist, two Jewish, one Universalist, one Swedish Lutheran, one Moravian, one "Christian Congregationalist," so called—probably the Independent Presbyterian church is meant—one Covenanters, one African Baptist, two African Methodist, and several other places not designated.—*Parson's Strangers' Guide to Philadelphia, anno 1810.* The population of the city and suburbs in 1810 was ninety-two thousand.

In 1824 there were sixty-six different places of worship in Philadelphia, in a population of at least one hundred and ten thousand souls.

† A correspondent of the *Congregationalist* newspaper, writing from Philadelphia in December, 1863, said that he found the prevailing belief in the city, even then, was that the New England churches were extensively, if not universally, Unitarian or Universalist.

more, many of the serious and earnest Christians of the city had imbibed the prevalent but false notion of the times, that beyond the bounds of New England there was not sufficient general intelligence to justify the establishment of churches which should be self-governing.*

The contentions, convulsions and violent disruptions which occurred in the Presbyterian church in 1836-37 brought home to the Congregationalists in Philadelphia a conviction, never before felt, of the evils and dangers necessarily incident to the workings of a great and complex organization like the Presbyterian church, and made evident to them the great superiority of the simple, apostolic system of Congregationalism. Under this impulse, a Congregational church of twenty-six members was organized on the 7th of June, 1836; a fine building lot was secured, and an elegant and spacious meeting-house speedily erected for the new society, which was rapidly increasing, and was fortunate enough to secure for its pastor the Rev. John Todd, of Northampton, one of the ablest and most successful ministers in New England. Everything went thus prosperously up

* I have old letters in my possession from intelligent and excellent men, born and educated in New England, but resident in the West and in Philadelphia itself, in which the opinion is decidedly expressed that, outside of New England, Congregationalism could not be sustained, for the reason that there was not sufficient general intelligence among the people—an idea abundantly exploded in these latter days. This was said about 1840.

to November 11, 1837, when the new meeting-house was dedicated. But the pastor's dedicatory sermon, on the "Principles and Results of Congregationalism," gave mortal offence to the Presbyterian ministers of the city, and turned their hearts and hands at once against the new minister and the new enterprise in which he was engaged. The strength and depth of this hostility was manifested by withholding from Mr. Todd all ministerial courtesies, and utterly ignoring his very existence among them, even when he was in the depths of distress, with his whole family sick and himself worn down by anxiety and watching. It was this experience which wrung from him complaints such as must be without a parallel in the experience of any Christian minister of irreproachable character and moral conduct. "No one knows," he wrote at the time of his greatest trial, "no one knows, or can ever know, the difficulties I have had to meet, since I have been here, from without and within. I am wearing out here with hard labors, all alone, with none to sympathize with me, none to aid me. I am as solitary as if there were not a fellow-minister within hundreds of miles of me." *

In addition to this concerted ostracism of the new pastor, and hostility to the enterprise in which he was engaged, came the great financial crisis and

* *John Todd, The Story of His Life*, told mainly by himself. Compiled and edited by John E. Todd, p. 203. New York, 1870.

panic of 1837, and the consequent failures of some of the chief supporters of this undertaking; and, worst of all, the utter discouragement of some of the church, and a division among them, engendered by their pecuniary embarrassments. All this brought on the sudden foreclosure of a mortgage on the meeting-house, an expulsion of the church from the premises, and its final dissolution after the removal of its beloved pastor. And yet, five thousand dollars more than this impoverished people were able to raise might have turned this sad failure into a brilliant success.

That the prejudice against this new minister and his church was purely denominational, is evident from the overtures made them to unite with Presbytery. In the darkest days of their sad experience, they were assured of all needed relief and assistance in their enterprise of building a new church, if they would but abandon their Congregationalism.*

* In a private letter to the author, written February 4, 1840, a short time before the collapse of this enterprise and when it was seriously apprehended, Dr. Todd expresses this very distinctly, and his growing doubt whether Congregationalism could live and prosper out of New England. After alluding to the fact that nearly all the Congregational churches which were early planted in Pennsylvania had gone over to Presbytery, he says: "My own church—and that has already gone through troubled waters enough to destroy half a dozen churches—is the only church in this city or region of our denomination. The fact is, New England is the place for Congregational churches; I do not know as they can live anywhere else . . . You will think I have gone over. By no means! I could at once have my church

Though the expediency of preaching such a sermon as Mr. Todd did, on such an occasion, under exactly such circumstances, may fairly be questioned, yet we may readily believe what his son tells us: that the sermon "was written in no unkind or party spirit, and could not properly be regarded as an attack upon any other denomination. It was a simple comparison of Congregationalism with other church systems, in the light of historical facts which cannot be denied." * But when we behold how great a matter a little fire instantly kindled, it is reasonable to suspect that the "matter" was all ready beforehand for the fire; and that the sermon was rather the occasion of what followed than its legitimate cause.

It was not surely a very heinous crime, an iniquity to be punished by the judges, for a young Congregational minister to express some elation at the remarkable success which had attended the movement to establish a church of his own order in a great city which had never before, for nearly a century, allowed one to live within its borders.

one of the richest and strongest in the United States if I would become Presbyterian. I have been courted to do so most abundantly, and I am very far from feeling sure that my splendid church may not yet become Presbyterian. But not as long as I am its pastor." See to the same effect, *Life of John Todd*, p. 311.

* *Life of John Todd*, p. 267.

The American Quarterly Register, vol. x, p. 280, after analyzing the sermon, concludes by saying "The sermon is one of great ability and candor. Those who are not convinced by its arguments will be pleased with its spirit."

If he even boasted somewhat, so long as he stretched not himself beyond his own measure and boasted not of other men's labors, and kept himself within the bounds of historic truth, it certainly would have been much more Christlike for those good Presbyterian brethren to have borne with the boaster a little in his folly, than to have turned at once to be his enemy and fight against him and his church; treating him rather "as a heathen man and a publican" than as a Christian minister of unblemished character, sound in the faith, eminent for gifts and attainments, and altogether a devoted and honored servant of their common Lord and Master.

The destruction of the only Congregational church in Philadelphia was thus finally accomplished, in just five years, four months and twenty days. But in the meantime a great and good work had been done by the pastor and his church. A handful of people had been built up into a great congregation — more than fifty persons being annually added to the church; a Sabbath school of about four hundred members had been gathered, and so perfectly arranged and managed as to attract visitors from all parts of the country and even from Europe; two young men had been trained for the ministry; the people had been brought to contribute more than forty thousand dollars toward their own church edifice, and a thousand dollars and more, annually, to send the gospel to the destitute; and the pastor had ac-

quired a position and influence in the city, as a preacher and lecturer, excelled by no other minister; and, up to the very moment of the final collapse, though driven from his meeting-house and compelled to preach in a public hall, was preaching to large audiences and with as much effect as ever, and his Sabbath school was full and flourishing.* The love of money is said to be the root of all evil; but a few thousand dollars in hand, just at this time, would have saved this church from ruin.

It was not until 1862 that another attempt was made to establish Congregationalism in Philadelphia. A church of about fifty members was then organized in the upper part of the city, in the midst of a population of some fourteen thousand souls, few of whom were meeting-going people. A good Massachusetts man, Deacon James Smith, was the father of this enterprise, and testified his deep interest in it by building a handsome chapel at his own sole expense of ten thousand dollars. A Sabbath school of three hundred members was gathered, and everything promised the success of this missionary church. Yet it was able to sustain itself but a few years; being dead, with another Congregational organization of seceders from the Dutch Reformed church, before 1871. The great hindrance to success, in both of these cases, was

* This is the summary of Dr Todd's work in Philadelphia, given by his son in *The Life of John Todd*, p. 310.

the lack of suitable pastors; * a chronic hindrance to all our denominational enterprises at the South and West.

In the spring of 1864 another, and this time a successful, movement was made to establish a Congregational church in the City of Brotherly Love—love for everything but Congregationalism. Of this enterprise the active participants give the following account: "In view of the intimate connection between our church polity and the civil institutions of the land, and in consequence of the war waged for the maintenance of the integrity of the Government, the desire which had often been felt was again excited—that a church representing the faith of our fathers and conforming to their usages might be formed here."

In accordance with this conviction and desire, it was decided, after much deliberation, to gather a Congregational church in the central part of the city; and on the 30th of May, 1864, thirty-seven Christian men and women were organized as "The Central Congregational Church of Philadelphia." Directly a society was formed and incorporated, and a pastor was chosen and installed; and after worshipping in a public hall for several months, a handsome and commodious chapel was built, and dedicated and occupied by the church and its Sabbath school on the first Sunday in January, 1866.

From these modest and cautious beginnings,

* *MS. Letter from Rev. Burdett Hart to the author.*

this church has gone on steadily, if not rapidly, to the present time, when it has noble and convenient church buildings, which have cost the society in the neighborhood of a hundred and twenty thousand dollars, all virtually paid for; a membership of two hundred and seventy-eight souls, and wealth and liberality enough to raise in a single year (1877), for Christian purposes, nearly sixteen thousand dollars (\$15,712).

In 1866 it was thought that there was a call for another Congregational church in Philadelphia, and the "Plymouth" church was organized; and in 1874 still another, known as the "Frankford" Congregational Church. These two churches in 1878 reported precisely the same number of communicants—one hundred and eighty-three each; making a total of six hundred and thirty-one Congregational church members in Philadelphia. But both of these new churches were dropped from our list in 1879, leaving the Central Church our only denominational representative in 1880.*

NORTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

From Southeastern we now pass to Northwestern Pennsylvania. The section of the State thus designated may be roughly described as from thirty to forty miles wide and two hundred and forty miles long, bordering on New York from the Delaware river on the east to Lake Erie on the west.

* See *Cong. Quar.*, January, 1878, p. 172; *Year-Book*, 1879.

When the great wave of Eastern immigration swept over Western New York, there was a very considerable overflow into the northern and western counties of Pennsylvania; so that in 1805-06 it was estimated that one fourth part of all the settlers in Erie county, the most western county in the State, were New England people.*

Of course our missionaries followed these emigrants, as they had all through New York; and many of the missionaries were the very same hard-working and faithful men whose labors we have already noticed.

The very first report of the Connecticut Missionary Society, in 1794, makes mention of the work of their missionaries in Northern Pennsylvania.

Settlements of New England people were made all along the Susquehanna, for a hundred miles or more from the New York line toward Wyoming, between 1788 and 1796. The Rev. Mr. Culver, a Congregational minister, was among the earliest settlers in that attractive country.

The first Connecticut missionary sent to Northern Pennsylvania was Rev. David Huntington, pastor of the Congregational church in Middletown, Conn. On the 17th of July, 1793, he left home on this mission, directing his steps first to Catskill, N. Y.; thence he went westward to Harpersfield, and then through the new settlements

* *Mass. Miss. Society's Mag.*, 111, 383-86.

along the Susquehanna river to Tioga Point, in the northern part of old Luzerne county, now Bradford county, Pennsylvania. The country around the Point is represented as a fine, pleasant country, and the new settlement there as a very interesting and promising one. From this point, after spending some time in visiting the pious people and preaching the gospel, the missionary made his way eastward fifty or sixty miles, to the Great Bend, in Susquehanna county. Here was one of the earliest settlements of New England people in that country. These settlers were chiefly Connecticut people, and carried with them a respect for the institutions of religion which led to the organization of a Congregational church in 1798; and, in accordance with primitive usage, to the choice and installation of one of their own members, Mr. Daniel Buck, as their pastor. The Rev. Joseph Badger, a Massachusetts missionary, and the Rev. Mr. Stephens, of Albany, assisted in the organization and ordination.*

The Rev. Aaron Kinne, of Groton, Conn., was the next missionary to visit this region. His mission, beginning at Whitestown, N. Y., in September, 1793, extended southward to Tioga Point in Pennsylvania, a few miles south of the boundary line, and some seventy miles west of the Great Bend. He visited all the settlements in the neighborhood, some of them repeatedly.

* *Narrative of the Missions to the New Settlements.* New Haven, 1794, pp. 7-8.

The Rev. Jeremiah Day, of New Preston, Conn., father of the late President Day, of Yale College, succeeded Mr. Kinne, in 1794, and followed the windings of the river some two hundred miles southeastward, to the beautiful Wyoming valley, preaching in all the settlements.

On the 15th of January, 1800, the Connecticut Missionary Society made a new departure in its work, and inaugurated a new era. Hitherto it had relied on the services of settled pastors, or ministers of mature years and experience, to do the work of evangelists in the new settlements. But now—for the first time, it is believed—it ventured to ordain and set apart a young man who had never had the experience of a pastor—Mr. Jedediah Bushnell—"as a missionary to the new settlements"—a missionary at large.

Mr. Bushnell entered at once on his appointed work, going first into some of the southern counties of New York, and then "to the settlements on the head branches of the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania." And that he proved himself a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, is evident from the fact that in eleven months he preached two hundred and forty-two sermons—more than five a week; formed two churches, attended eighty-six public religious conferences, baptized two hundred and thirty-seven persons—children and adults—and admitted to the churches a considerable number of members.*

* *Narrative*, for 1801, p. 8, and 1802, p. 4; *Sermon at the Ordina-*

In August, 1800, Mr. Joseph B. Andrews, "a candidate for the ministry," was sent by the Connecticut Missionary Society through all the settlements along the branches of the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. In several of these settlements a Christian minister had never before been seen, and many settlers had not heard a sermon for six or seven years.*

In the autumn of 1801, the society sent another candidate for the ministry, Mr. Hezekiah May, into Pennsylvania. And in the course of this year, the Congregational church in East Smithfield was formed in the northwestern part of what is now Bradford county, some ten miles south of the New York line. This is still alive, with about one hundred communicants, and is the oldest of our order in the State, with the exception of the Welsh church at Ebensburg, formed in 1796.

In June, 1802, the Connecticut Missionary Society reported that in the course of the year six of their missionaries had been laboring in the great county of Luzerne, Penn., namely: Messrs. Williston, Jerome, Porter, May, Higgins and Woodward.† This county was by no means an

nation of Jedediah Bushnell, by Rev. Cyprian Strong. Hartford, 1800.

* *Ibid.*, 1801, pp. 9-10.

† If this should seem a large allowance of missionaries for one county, it must be remembered that old Luzerne county originally extended over a large part of Northeastern Pennsylvania, now divided into half a dozen counties. In 1803 Wayne county

encouraging field for labor; the number of Christian people was small; and there was not one Congregational or Presbyterian minister in either Luzerne or Wayne county, which adjoins on the east.

Mr. Woodward spent much time in this "Susquehanna Country," as it was called; going over the ground two, three, or four times, and extending his travels to Northumberland county, some eighty miles southward, into the centre of the State. This was in 1802-03, and his labors extended over Wayne and Luzerne counties. In the course of his missionary tours, besides preaching nearly two hundred times, administering the Lord's Supper eight times, and baptizing some forty persons, he assisted in forming one church; but where, we are not told.

In 1803-04 there were revivals of religion in some of these new settlements, which contributed largely to the increase of existing churches, and prepared the way for the establishment of others. The Rev. William Lockwood, who went through these settlements in 1810, says that "in sundry places he witnessed the happy effects of the Divine blessing on missionary labors in former years;" and mentions particularly one town—he does not name it—where the visitations of the Holy Spirit,

formed the eastern extremity of Northern Pennsylvania, and, together with Luzerne, stretched all along the border of the State for seventy-five miles or more, and into the country southward quite as far.

in an extraordinary degree, were enjoyed in 1803-04, the effects of which had been to make glad the wild and solitary place and to cause the desert to blossom as the rose; raising the little, feeble church of eight members to a strong and prosperous one of one hundred and one members.*

On the 4th of August, 1810, the Rev. Ebenezer Kingsbury was installed over the church at Harford, or "Nine Partners," in Susquehanna county, about fifty miles north of Wilkesbarre. This was one of the first installations of which we have any account in that section of Pennsylvania. Mr. Kingsbury probably organized this church, for we are told that "he formed one church" just previous to his installation.†

In 1810-11 the Rev. Mr. Spencer, a missionary of the Connecticut Society in the counties east and south of Lake Erie, organized three churches. And in 1811-12 the Rev. Worthington Wright, Lucas Hart and Mr. Kingsbury were all at work in the northern counties; and in 1812-13 Mr. Joseph Treat, a licentiate of Litchfield county, Conn., and Mr. Oliver Hill, another candidate for the ministry, were in Wayne, Susquehanna, Bradford and Luzerne counties. The report of Mr. Hill was very encouraging. In Susquehanna and Bradford counties he found growing attention to the education of children and to domestic and

* Narrative, etc., for 1810, pp. 9-10, published 1811.

† Narrative, p. 8, published 1811.

public worship. In a large proportion of the settlements where they had no ministers, reading meetings were held by the settlers on the Sabbath. Within a few years five ministers had been settled in these counties, and several new churches had been formed, being the immediate fruits of religious revivals enjoyed there.

Rev. Samuel Sargeant, another Connecticut missionary, reported, about the same time, that no part of the wide missionary field had profited more, in proportion to the labor bestowed, than the four northern counties of Pennsylvania just named. And Mr. Kingsbury reported that in Lycoming county, just south of Bradford and Tioga counties, there were in 1812 two churches and one pastor.

In 1813 Rev. Mr. Wright was installed pastor of the church in Bethany, on the Delaware river, in Wayne county. Rev. Daniel Waldo, William Wick and Abraham Scott were at work in these northern counties during 1813-14. And during the years 1812-13 the Rev. Messrs. Samuel J. Mills and John F. Schermerhorn were making their extraordinary tour through the West and South, starting from Pennsylvania. They reported that, in ten counties west of Bradford county and east of the Alleghany river, there were no more than six churches—Congregational and Presbyterian—and three settled ministers, in a population of twenty-one thousand souls. Now, if to this estimate we add the six churches and three ministers then

established in Bradford county, and in Susquehanna, Wayne, Luzerne and Lycoming counties — east and south of Bradford — we shall have a total of twelve churches and six settled ministers in all those ten counties of Northern and Western Pennsylvania, extending from the Delaware to Lake Erie — some two hundred and fifty miles.

Toward the close of the year 1813 we have the following summary of work accomplished by the New England missionary societies in Northern Pennsylvania, between 1789 and 1814: "In the counties of Wayne, Susquehanna and Bradford, on the east, there are seven Congregational ministers and twelve or thirteen churches." But in the four western counties, Tioga, Potter, McKean and Warren — containing four or five thousand inhabitants — there was not one settled minister nor a single church, and but very few professors of religion. But in Erie county there were three ministers and seven churches.*

But the settlements between Wellsborough, in the centre of Tioga county, and Warren county — a distance of about one hundred miles — Mr. Treat says had never been visited by a missionary until he went through the country, though the settlers were largely New England people.

Sometime between 1813-14 a Congregational church was organized in the ancient settlement at Tioga Point. This was the fruit of a revival which

* *Narratives*, 1815, pp. 10, 14-15.

followed the missionary labors of Rev. William Wisner, of the Morris County (N. J.) Associated Presbytery, a Congregational association. This church prospered and grew in numbers, and was connected with the old Luzerne Congregational Association when that body was swallowed up by the Susquehanna Presbytery. It retained, for a time, its Congregational rights and liberties; but when this church, after the great schism, was urged to give up Congregationalism and become entirely Presbyterian, it was rent in twain and became two churches — Old and New School.*

In January, 1814, the Rev. John Bascom, after spending four months as a missionary in the northern counties, was ordained to the pastoral care of the Congregational church in Smithfield, in the centre of Bradford county. Another minister was installed in Bradford county in the winter of 1814, and one in Susquehanna county also. A church was formed at Lawsville and New Milford, in the northern part of the same county, in September, 1813; and in February, 1814, Rev. Oliver Hill was ordained its pastor.

During the year 1815 the Connecticut Society supported several missionaries in Northern Pennsylvania, and two or more new churches were organized by them in Susquehanna and Bradford counties; and the Rev. Miner York was installed pastor of a church at Wysox, in the centre of Bradford county, in 1819-20.

* Hotchkiss, 449—

Still, the destitutions of that country were so great that in 1821 it is reported that in three counties — Wayne, Tioga and Pike — there was not a single "regular minister," in a population of about fifteen thousand souls.*

The old Connecticut Society continued to send its missionaries into these destitute regions until 1826, when it surrendered its life-work into the hands of the American Home Missionary Society. Other New England societies coöperated with the Connecticut almost from the first; particularly the Massachusetts Missionary Society, whose missionaries were at work in this country as early as 1800. Two of their earliest missionaries were Rev. Jacob Cram and Rev. Mr. Alexander,† both excellent and efficient ministers.

We have now reviewed very summarily the work of the New England missionary societies in Northwestern Pennsylvania, between 1793 and 1826. In the course of the first twenty-one years of this time, the Connecticut Society sent into this field twenty-one different missionaries, many of them repeatedly, and furnished at least ten full years of ministerial work to these new settlements, at an expense of about ten thousand dollars — a very considerable sum for those days of moderate incomes.

* *Narrative*, 1822, p. 9.

† *Mass. Miss. Assoc.*, i, p. 66 —; iii, pp. 383-85.

Among the visible fruits of this labor and expenditure were a very great improvement in the moral condition of the settlements, and several extensive revivals of religion, quickening Christians and converting sinners, and leading to the organization of churches in many places. Exactly how many of these were Congregational in their polity cannot now be ascertained; for, in conformity with their usual habit, the missionary societies seldom mentioned the polity of the churches which their missionaries formed. This, however, we know: that for twenty-five years no inconsiderable part of all the evangelical work that was done in Northern Pennsylvania was at the expense of New England Congregationalists and by the hands of their missionaries; though the Presbyterian church had its missionaries also at work in this field quite as early as were ours. But the number of Presbyterian missionaries was very small—one or two a year—and their terms of service very brief—one, two, and three months at a time. But the Presbyterian missionary was sent to work for Presbyterianism as well as for Christ, his instructions being: “to attempt to organize churches wherever it may be practicable; and to give the necessary information on church government and discipline,* . . .

* *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presb. Chh. in the United States*, vol. 1, pp. 10, 11, 23, 26, 45, 61.

In 1814 the whole number of missionaries employed by the General Assembly, in the United States, was only *eighty-one*. And the largest number sent into Northern Pennsylvania any one

and to be particular in [his] inquiries respecting the relative state of the religious denominations, wherever he may happen to pass." Acting in the spirit of these instructions, the few Presbyterian missionaries were able to do very much toward building up their Church in these new settlements.

Most of the early churches formed by our missionaries in Northwestern Pennsylvania were doubtless Congregationally organized: though the missionaries had no instructions to that effect, and did not hesitate to organize churches after the Presbyterian model, if desired, and no doubt did so in repeated instances, and cheerfully coöperated with missionaries of that church in evangelical work.

Any one who will take the trouble to compare the names of the churches gathered in Northern Pennsylvania by our early Congregational missionaries, with those subsequently reported by the General Assembly as Presbyterian, will be assured that they are very largely the fruits of Congregational labor, though it may have been employed purposely from the first in building up Presbyterianism.

year between 1790-1820 was two, and these only for a few weeks at a time. Of the fifty-one Presbyterian missionaries sent out in 1814, one only was commissioned for six months; four, for four months, seven, for three months; twenty-two, for two months; one, for six weeks, and six, for one month. — See *Minutes Gen. Assn.*, i, pp. 23, 60, 184, 207, 231, 313, 391, 477, 506, 583-85, & *passim*.

The old Susquehanna Presbytery, which covered a territory of nearly one hundred miles square, and embraced a population of more than forty thousand souls—reporting in 1825 twenty-seven churches and eleven ordained ministers—was yet mainly dependent on the old Connecticut Missionary Society; for a missionary writes: “While we have had some assistance from different sources, we still place much dependence on the good Missionary Society of Connecticut. We must still lift up our voice and cry—‘Come over and help us!’” *

The Presbytery of Montrose (N. Y.) which embraced Wayne, Susquehanna, Bradford and Luzerne counties, and perhaps Tioga, reported in 1850 twenty-six churches. And the Presbytery of Erie (N. Y.) in 1850 reported fifteen churches, seven ministers and one thousand communicants. Thus, in these six northern counties, where Congregational ministers had labored for a quarter of a century, the New School Presbyteries had at least forty-one churches, twenty-four ministers and over three thousand communicants. And though we cannot say how many of these were originally Congregational churches, we are confident that several of them must have been. Many of them certainly were in the same towns where our missionaries formed churches; and it is not likely that in those early days, and among a sparse popu-

* *Narrative Conn. Miss. Soc.*, 1825, p. 6—.

lation, two churches of the same faith would be formed contemporaneously in the same settlement.*

The first ecclesiastical association of the Congregational churches and ministers of Northern Pennsylvania was formed in 1803, October 19,† at Lisle, N. Y., just over the line of the State. This organization was effected at the time that Rev. Seth Williston was installed pastor of the First Congregational Church of Lisle. This association was for the churches on either side of the State line. The ministers in this organization were probably the same who took part in Mr. Williston's installation, with delegates of the churches under their charges, namely: Rev. Messrs. Seth Sage, Joel Chapin, Hugh Wallis, James W. Woodward, Nathan B. Darrow, with Rev. Mr. Williston.

* For example, the following names of places where our missionaries formed churches in Northern Pennsylvania appear subsequently in the *Minutes* of the New School General Assembly as places where Presbyterian churches existed: Providence, Brooklyn, Harford, Montrose, Honesdale, Salein, Carbondale, Great Bend, Dunfaff, Mt. Pleasant, Wysox, Gibson, Ararat, Pike, Scott, Franklin, Bethel, Bethany, Canaan, Liberty, Rileyville, Rawley and Blakely. So many—twenty-three—have been noticed. It is not unlikely that some have been overlooked. Many churches of the same name appear in the *Minutes* of the General Assembly for 1879; but as neither the date of organization nor the county in which they are situate is given in the *Minutes*, and as there are several which bear the same name, though in different Presbyteries, it is impossible to identify all the old churches.

† *Cong. Quar.*, April, 1874, pp. 285-90.

There were delegates present from the church at Lisle, Nine Partners (Harford), Penn.; Chenango, Jericho, Walton, N. Y.; Willingborough (Great Bend), Penn.; Homer and Pompey, N. Y. This first Association of Northern Pennsylvania and Southern New York maintained its status until about 1810, when it was found expedient to organize the "Luzerne Association," chiefly of Pennsylvania churches and ministers; the New York members uniting with the "Union Association" of New York.

The ministers and churches connected with these associations were Congregational, and remained thus until about 1821. At that time the Susquehanna Presbytery was organized in the same neighborhood, and the Luzerne Association was induced to give up its denominational organization and go bodily into the Presbytery, "retaining the right to administer the government of their churches in accordance with the principles of Congregationalism." *

We have seen how such arrangements worked in New York; and in Pennsylvania it was the same old story—the "lean-fleshed kine did eat up the fat kine." One after the other, these ancient Congregational churches of Northern Pennsylvania were drawn into Presbyteries, to appear in due time in the goodly array of Presbyterian churches which graced the *Minutes* of the General

* *Hutchins's Western New York*, 109.

Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States.

The great schism in 1837 opened the eyes of some of these old churches, and drove them back into the old paths—the good way wherein their fathers first walked—and to the formation, in 1840, of the “Congregational Association of Western Pennsylvania.” Six ministers and five churches were the first members of this association. The ministers were Rev. Messrs. J. S. Emery, E. Parmely, Lucius H. Parker,* H. B. Taylor, Ralph Clapp and O. D. Hibbard; the churches were those of Troy, Wayne, Randolph, Concord and Sugar Grove.

To this association we are indebted for a brief but very satisfactory and important account of early Congregationalism in Northern Pennsylvania, and of its gradual decline into Presbyterianism; together with the modern associational movements intended to revive the old churches and re-establish them on their primitive foundations. The following extracts will give the reader the more important parts of this account:

“It is well known to those who are acquainted with the history of Northwestern Pennsylvania that no inconsiderable portion of its citizens are emigrants from New England. Especially is it the

* Mr. Parker, who was the prime mover of this enterprise, was brother to the Rev. Joel Parker, of New York. — *M.S. Letter from Hon. A. Hazeltine.*

case that many of those who have been classed as Presbyterians, and who have been active in sustaining the Presbyterian church, are of New England origin and attached to the primitive institutions of the much derided Puritans. Finding in the land of their adoption a church which conducts public worship in the form to which they were early accustomed; which proclaims substantially the same great truths into which they were indoctrinated; they have usually foregone their preferences in relation to church order, that there might be no strife among brethren. . . . Without scruple, therefore, they have entered Presbyterian churches, where they found them already formed, and assisted in the formation of others where none were formed. And it has only been in a few instances, where the population was almost entirely of New England origin, that they have reared churches on the platform of the New England fathers. Some of those which were Congregational in their first formation, were soon induced to change their organization to meet the wishes of those who had been educated Presbyterians, or in compliance with the advice of ministering brethren.

"In this way things remained when the recent developments of Presbyterianism, through the convulsions which have occurred in that church, took place. To the utter astonishment of these sons of the Pilgrims, they learned, with great grief, that all the difficulties, controversies and

errors which afflicted the Presbyterian church, were charged to the introduction within its pale of Congregational members, ministers and principles."

After the great excision, these descendants of New England Congregationalists pretty generally adhered to the excised, or New School party, hoping to find something of sympathy and congeniality of feeling in that portion of the Presbyterian church which was accused of Congregational predilections. But it was soon found that the leaders of the New School interest were not less zealous for the forms and policy of Presbyterianism than their opponents; and "that those among them who were Congregationalists in fact, were expected to abandon their preferences, that it might be manifest to all the world that their New School brethren had been unjustly accused of Congregational tendencies. But by this time it was understood that there was a radical difference, so far as ecclesiastical policy and order are concerned, between the two denominations; and as they were compelled to choose the one or the other, a respectable number were found who sought an opportunity to manifest their attachment to that denomination in which they were reared. . . . Impelled to action by the events and principles which have been described, . . . three churches in Northwestern Pennsylvania, one of which had always been Congregational, in 1839 united with the Congregational Association of

Western New York. At a subsequent meeting of that body, other churches, most of whose members had ever been Congregationalists in preference, followed their example. It was now found that Congregationalism was sufficiently strong in this region to maintain an organization of its own; and a convention was called which resulted in the formation of the Association of Western Pennsylvania," etc.*

Besides the churches named as concerned in the formation of the Western Association, there were in 1840 a number of others in the northern counties, east of the mountains, and also in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, west of the mountains, which were connected with a Congregational Association of which the Rev. John Tassey, of Pittsburgh, was a prominent member. This Western Association is still living and prospering, having in 1878 ten churches connected with it, and an aggregate membership of six hundred and sixty-one souls. Its ecclesiastical connection is with Ohio. All these churches, but Randolph and Townville, have been formed since 1837.

In addition to these associations, one was formed at Bainbridge, N. Y., on the 17th of January, 1839, to accommodate the Congregational churches

* *Constitution, Confession of Faith, Standing Rules and Principles of Discipline of the Association of Western Pennsylvania.* Adopted at Randolph, Crawford county, September 23, 1840. To which is annexed "A Brief Notice of its Formation." 8vo 19 pages.

and ministers of some parts of Northern Pennsylvania and Southern New York, called the "Susquehanna River Association," which was received into the New York General Association in August, 1840. It then embraced seven Congregational churches.* This association, in 1878, contained ten churches, with six hundred and six communicants, extending along the northern borders of the State, from the middle of Bradford county to Warren county.

Welsh Congregational churches are quite numerous in Pennsylvania; that at Ebensburg, in Cambria county, in the southwestern part of the State, dating back to 1796. Many of them are quite large and flourishing, Ebensburg having in 1878 two hundred and thirty communicants, with two sister churches by its side with one hundred and fifteen additional communicants. The Welsh Church at Hyde Park, a part of the flourishing City of Scranton, in Luzerne county, had three hundred and eighty communicants in 1878. There are two Welsh Associations: the Western, with nine churches and an aggregate church membership of nine hundred and sixty-eight persons in 1877; and the Eastern, with thirty-nine churches and an aggregate church membership of not less than twenty-five hundred souls.

*MS Letter from Rev David Abel, who was one of the delegates of the Susquehanna River Association to the General Assembly. See also *Minutes of Gen. Assoc. of New York*, for 1840.

The whole present number (1878-79) of Congregational churches in Pennsylvania is seventy-six; the number of ministers, fifty-one; and of church members, five thousand one hundred and ninety-four.*

This, to be sure, is not a very brilliant exhibit of our denominational strength in one of the very largest and most populous States in the Union. But it must not be forgotten that the original elements of this great State, generally, were not only heterogeneous to an uncommon extent — Swedes, Dutch, Irish and Germans very largely — but so far as they were English and American, except along the northern frontier, they were unfriendly to New England institutions; and, furthermore, that very much of the religious work done by New England men in Pennsylvania has been for the Presbyterian church rather than for the advancement of Congregationalism. When all these things are considered, our present denominational standing there need not surprise any one.

Congregationalism, however, is steadily gaining in the State; as may be seen by a retrospect of a few years.

*Twenty-four of the Welsh churches reported in 1877-78 twenty-one hundred and sixty-three members, while fifteen made no report.

I have been unsuccessful in my applications for particular information about these churches. Some reference to the old church at Elsenburgh will be found in the notice of the Congregational church at Paddy's Run, Ohio.

In 1830-31 those careful collectors of statistical information, the editors of the *American Quarterly Register*, in reporting the state of the "Religious Denominations in Pennsylvania," do not even mention the existence of a single Congregational church in the State!* There were, to be sure, some Congregational churches and ministers then in Pennsylvania; but they were so few in number, and so little known, as to escape entirely the observation of men so careful in gathering information as were the editors of the *Register*.

Sixteen years later, in 1846, a careful inquirer, and one of the best-informed men in this country on denominational topics, could find but nine Congregational ministers in all Pennsylvania, twenty-six churches, and five hundred and sixty-five church members.†

The *Congregational Almanac* for 1848 furnishes a list of sixteen towns in which there were then Congregational churches in Pennsylvania, which were served by nine ministers; and estimates the number of church members at four hundred and fifty-six. About half of these churches are not now found upon our denominational list.

The *Congregational Year-Book* for 1855 could find but thirteen Congregational churches in all Pennsylvania, and eight ministers of the same order. But four years later, in 1859, it was able to report

* *American Quar. Reg.*, vol. III, February, 1831, pp 211-13.

† *Congregational Register*, for 1847; edited by the Rev. Parsons Cooke.

twenty-seven churches in the State, twenty Congregational ministers, and about fifteen hundred church members.* In 1868 the number of our churches had increased to sixty-six; our ministers to forty, and our church members to more than four thousand. Since that date there has been a steady growth, though not a rapid one; making a gain of one church, every year, over all losses, and an average yearly gain of over two hundred church members. The gain in 1877-78 over 1876-77 was four hundred and seventy-four members; but in 1878-79 there was a loss of seven hundred and nineteen.†

NOTE. — In 1848 the *Congregational Almanac* published the following list of Congregational parishes and ministers in Pennsylvania, which was doubtless as full and accurate as could be obtained:

- Alleghany City, Rev. J. Tamey, minister.
- *New Milford and Jackson, Rev. J. Davidson, minister.
- *Wayne, Rev. Nelson Shapley, minister.
- *West Greenville, Rev. D. C. Sterroy, minister.
- *Smithport, Rev. Joshua Lane, minister.
- *Concord and Columbus, Rev. E. Coleman, minister.
- Randolph and Troy, Rev. I. L. Radcliffe, minister.
- Sugar Grove and Centreville, no minister.
- Conneaut, Rev. L. B. Beach, minister.
- *Ebensburg and Sterling, no minister.
- *Green Township, Rev. J. Williams, minister.

All in this list that are starred (*) have disappeared from our denominational list. Some no doubt appear under different names.

*The returns give one thousand four hundred and thirty church members; but nine churches made no returns.

† Cong. Quar., statistics, January, 1878, *Year-Book*, 1879.

CHAPTER III.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE SOUTH—INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES—CHURCHES IN MISSISSIPPI—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—PRESENT CONDITION OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE OLD SLAVE STATES—EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—WORK OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

THERE have been many attempts to build up Congregational churches in slave-holding communities, but with very indifferent success. One of the most remarkable and promising movements of this kind, in modern times, was made by several Presbyterian churches in South Carolina and North Carolina, about the year 1810. On the 14th of October, of that year, the Presbyterian church at Bullock's Creek, York district, S. C., formally withdrew from Presbytery and declared itself Independent. And soon after, the church at Shiloh, in the same district; and the church at Olney, Lincoln county, N. C.; and the church at Salem, Forsyth county; and that at Edmonds, N. C., all followed the example of the Bullock's Creek church, and withdrew formally from the Presbyterian church of the United States, and declared themselves Independent.

Having thus cut themselves loose from their old ecclesiastical connections, it was soon found essential to their highest usefulness and happiness to

organize a church and ministerial association of their own. Accordingly, a convention was called, in 1813, and a Constitution and Form of Government was adopted and presented to the churches, and by them made their standard of faith and practice, next to the sacred Scriptures themselves.

After a few years the pastors of two of these churches, and one of their licentiates for the ministry, with a number of church members, emigrated to Tennessee, and there formed a church in Rutherford county, near the centre of the State. This movement was made with the expectation that Tennessee might soon become a Free State.

Disappointed in this, the ministers and several of their followers, after six or seven years' residence in Tennessee, returned to South Carolina, to the great joy and encouragement of their old Christian friends and associates there. New life was infused into the drooping churches; and a new church was soon formed at Yorkville, to take the place of the church at Shiloh, which had languished and died under the loss of its pastor.

After ten years' experience it was thought necessary that the original Constitution and Form of Government adopted by these churches should be revised and reasserted, especially as the Constitution and Articles adopted in 1813 had never been printed. On the 15th of October, 1823, therefore, another convention of ministers and lay delegates met at Yorkville, S. C., to do this important work; and it was done carefully and thoroughly,

and was then presented to the churches, who unanimously accepted and adopted it as their directory, and ordered it to be printed.

In their preamble or introduction the churches say : " Our church shall be known by the name of *The Independent Presbyterian Church*.

" We are a *Church*, because our societies respectively, as professed Christians, meet together for the purpose of worshipping God, in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Redeemer; and for the purpose of waiting on the means of grace which he has appointed for the salvation of our souls; and because we are governed by the general laws which Christ has appointed in his word. — Matt. xviii: 20. We are a *Presbyterian* church, because the senior members of every congregation constitute a Presbytery for the government of the church to which they respectively belong. — 1 Peter v: 5; 1 Tim. iv: 14. We are *Independent Presbyterians*, because each of our individual churches governs itself, independent of one another, and acknowledges no superior in point of government and authority, but Christ. — Matt. xxiii: 8-10."

In respect to fundamental doctrines: " The Independent Presbyterian church, in general, profess to adhere to the Calvinistic system of divinity; yet every individual member is at liberty to enjoy a freedom of sentiment as to non-essential doctrines, provided he adheres to the fundamental principles of the gospel. Nevertheless, we are far

from the opinion that truth and falsehood, even in non-essentials, are matters of indifference."

"All the fundamental doctrines of the gospel may be comprehended under these four general heads: 1. The being of one true God. 2. Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. 3. Holiness in heart and life. 4. The divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures."

Besides these fundamental doctrines, "there are some particular doctrines . . . of great importance," which, although not essential to salvation, "ought ever to be strictly maintained and defended," "although they ought not to be made terms of communion." Among these are the doctrine of "Original guilt imputed to all the human race, in consequence of the fall of Adam, who represented all his posterity." . . . "The doctrine of particular election to salvation." . . . "The decrees of God, by which all things are foreordained." . . . "Final perseverance of the saints." . . . "The right of infants to church membership and consequently to baptism." . . . That "the only state of probation is in this world." . . . That "the punishment of the wicked will be eternal, as well as the happiness of the righteous."

In regard to church order and government the Constitution says: "It is generally admitted that the primitive churches in the apostolic age were founded and governed on the simple principle of

Independency;" and that "they lost this independence by the intervention of ecclesiastical councils, which began to be held in the second century." Then follows this general statement: "Although it is admitted that Christ has not given in his word a full and complete system of laws for the government of his kingdom, but has left a great deal to the prudence and wisdom of the church (1 Cor. xiv: 40); yet he has undoubtedly given us the general plan and form of government; and he has stated the leading features of the laws for the discipline of his church, by which all the special rules of that discipline ought to be directed." And it is argued from Matt. xx: 26-28; xxiii: 1-12; Mark x: 35-45; and Luke xxii: 24-27,* that "Christ does forbid his churches to submit to any superior; and that he has ordained that all the senior members who have a share in government shall be as brethren, on a perfect equality with each other; and that no individual society shall call any man *master*, or be amenable to any man, or set of men on earth; but shall be governed by their own body, on the proper principles of an independent form of government. Pastors and teachers, etc., are vested with peculiar offices as teachers and bishops, and as such are superior to the other members; and are to be revered, esteemed and obeyed; but as ecclesiastical rulers they must not be masters and

* *Form of Government*, chap. i.

lords over God's heritage, but considered as brethren and on a perfect equality with the other presbyters."

"Bishops, called pastors, ministers, teachers, elders, etc., are the highest orders in the church, not as governors, but as ambassadors of Christ. . . . Presbyters, or elders, include all the male members in full communion, who are twenty-one years old and upwards (except persons of color). To this class, including pastors, teachers, etc., belongs the government of the church. *Females* are not permitted to share in the government of the church, neither are they permitted to preach, exhort or pray, as leaders in the public worship of God."

The constitution recognizes the right of individual churches to try, license and ordain ministers; and every such minister or licentiate was subject to the discipline of the church to which he belonged, just as every other church member was, and the action and decision of the church was final and without appeal in every case. Ecclesiastical councils were not recognized by these churches.

Provision was made for a yearly General Convention of all the ordained preachers of this denomination, with two delegates from each church. But it was clothed with no coercive power or judicial authority, and at first was not allowed even "to give advice or counsel on any question whatever relative to any case in the government of any

individual church or any individual member or members of it."

Subsequently an alteration was made in the constitution, which allowed the convention "to deliberate, consult and give their opinion and advice upon any reference, case or question that may come before them." But this judgment, or advice, was not to be regarded as obligatory; "nor [was it to] be deemed improper nor disrespectful for any church to act differently from, or even contrary to the counsel and advice of the General Convention." *

One of the peculiarities of these churches was that the office of deacon was not recognized by them. They held that any of the elders—senior members of the church—might be called on to "serve tables," and to do the work usually assigned to deacons; so jealous were they of the sovereign rights of the individual churches. And yet this convention, which was called together yearly to discuss doctrines and transact the business of the churches, finally accomplished the ruin of this once flourishing body of earnest Christians, by exercising the power of a Standing Council and Judiciary.

This Independent church organization in 1824 embraced five churches, and three societies not fully organized; three pastors—the Rev. W. C. Davis, the Rev. R. M. Davis and the Rev. S. J. Feemster; one ordained licentiate and two candi-

* See *Amendments to the Constitution*, pp. 2-3, edition of 1824.

dates for the ministry; and it numbered two hundred and eight communicants. In the autumn of this year one of the most accomplished and useful of these ministers, the Rev. Robert M. Davis, died, to the great grief of the churches.

At the fourth annual meeting of the convention, in 1827, this sisterhood of churches was strengthened by the addition of Harmony Church, situate on Turkey creek, on the northeastern border of Abbeville district, S. C. At the next convention, Hephzibah Church, in Lincoln county, in the southwestern part of North Carolina, was enrolled among the churches of this Independent body; and in 1829 two more new churches applied for admission, namely: that of Hopewell, on King's creek, in the northwest part of York district, S. C., and Tabor, in Union district, S. C. In 1831 another church in the same district, that of Beth Shiloh, was received by the convention. Thus for eight years (1824-31) this Independent church organization made steady and most encouraging progress, doubling the number of its churches and considerably more than doubling its communicants. Nor did its progress cease at the end of eight years; for in the summer of 1832, Salem Church, in Lowndes county, Northeastern Mississippi, was received into fellowship;* and in the

* Salem Church is the same as Columbus Congregational Church, reported in our Congregational Minutes. — See *Cong. Quar.*, 1877.

Winter of 1834 a church was organized in the center of Chester district, S. C., which, in August, 1835, was admitted into the General Convention. At the same time, a church which had been organized in July preceding was admitted to the fellowship of the convention; and in 1838 another Independent church arose in Mississippi—the church at Ruhamah, in Monroe county. Both of these Mississippi churches were under the pastoral care of the Rev. S. J. Feemster, who went to that State in 1836.*

In 1838 there were thirteen of these Independent, associated churches in the South, with a membership of from ten to twelve hundred souls, who were ministered to by four ordained preachers and two licentiates; and a most interesting communion they were—thoroughly evangelical in sentiment, Calvinistic in doctrine, warmly interested in every good word and work, and the hearty friends of religious revivals, though opposed to all objectionable and questionable measures which found favor in their day among many Southern and Western Christians. They were the genuine Separatists of the South; the devoted friends of a free Bible, which they recognized as the authoritative standard of Christian doctrine and church polity and

* This gentleman was the father of the Rev. Samuel C. Feemster, my most faithful and valuable correspondent, without whose assistance I could not have written this sketch of Independent Presbyterianism in the South.

practice, and which they believed taught the democratic doctrine of freedom in the church and freedom in the State; and they were also, to a large extent, opposed to negro slavery, and were non-slave-holders themselves. William C. Davis, the master-spirit of this whole movement, openly and pointedly condemned negro slavery as an immorality, opposed to sound policy and utterly inconsistent with the avowed principles of civil liberty held by the nation; "a moral evil and a most abominable sin against all the laws of God and humanity." The elder Feemster, another of the fathers of this communion, "inveighed against slavery in very strong language." And this was in accordance with the sentiments of the churches generally, at first, as appears from the resolution of their convention, pronouncing "involuntary slavery morally wrong." *

But there were, of course, some slave-holders in the churches; and after awhile some of their young ministers married into slave-holding families, and, of course, became tender in their treatment of this subject; and gradually, as the churches increased in number and members, they felt more and more the power of public opinion, which finally swept the convention away from its original basis into the current of public sentiment on the subject of slave-holding.

* *Davis' Gospel Plan of Salvation*, p. 630 —; *MS. Letter from Rev. S. C. Feemster*.

But it was not slavery alone which wrought the ruin of this interesting group of free churches in the Southern States. There had been working in the body for some years—particularly in the younger and more ambitious ministers and laymen—the leaven of Presbyterianism; a hungering for something more aristocratic in their church organization and government than the fathers had allowed; a desire to be more like the people around them. It was the old cry new-voiced: “Now make us a king, to judge us like all the nations!”

The open manifestation of this spirit appeared first, prominently, in the General Convention of 1836, when one of the younger ministers presented a new draft of the Constitution and Form of Government of the Independent Presbyterian Church. This, among other changes, proposed to introduce an official eldership and a church session into every church, which should control, direct and govern the individual church; and, more than this, it was proposed to give the General Convention appellate power to decide all questions submitted to it by the church sessions.

This revolutionary measure encountered very strong opposition in the convention, as well as in the individual churches; and it required two years and more of zealous effort on the part of the younger members of the ministry and the churches to secure its adoption and ratification, and thus turn over these churches to substantial Presbyterianism, from which the fathers had revolted.

What might have been anticipated, and what was distinctly predicted by the opponents of this new constitution, soon occurred. The Independent churches began to lose their prestige and prosperity; very few new churches were organized, and very few young men offered themselves for the ministry. The church struggled along, however, until the Civil War began. That scattered most of the members among Presbyterian churches, and rang the death-knell of the Independent Presbyterian Church in the Southern States.

*The individual church at Olney, just across the Alabama line, in Fayette county, which was organized somewhere about 1840, maintained its independency for awhile, but finally had to succumb to Presbyterianism. The Rahamah Church, in Monroe county, Mississippi, which was organized in May, 1837, by the Rev. S. J. Feemster, Sr., maintained its original organization even down to the end of the War, but at length fell in pieces, and its members joined other churches; so that there now remains only one of the original number—Salem Church, near Columbus, Lowndes county, Mississippi. This was organized in June, 1832; was first under the pastoral care of the Rev. Silas J. Feemster, and afterwards of his son, the Rev. Samuel C. Feemster.

During the Civil War this little church suffered greatly for its anti-slavery and Union principles. All the male members who were liable to military service escaped to the North or to the Union

lines, travelling in the night through the woods, from near Columbus, Miss., to Tuscumbia, just south of the Tennessee river, in Franklin county, Alabama, a distance of a hundred miles or more. Here the fugitives found the Union army and were safe.

One who participated in the sufferings and dangers of that wearisome journey says that those night travels were times of great spiritual enjoyment among the fugitives. "True," he says, "the blood-hounds howled after us and dangers beset our path; but out of them all the Lord delivered us. I have never seen nor felt the power of a calm trust in God more than at that time. We were a little band of Christians, fleeing through the woods, with a firm determination to die, rather than violate our consciences by fighting in defence of slavery. We committed our cause to him who knoweth them that are his, and we were cheerful — I believe the happiest company I have ever seen! I remember with pleasure the sustaining grace granted us in that hour of peril for conscience' sake." *

Though the War brought ruin upon the Salem Church — driving away its pastor, its school-teachers and all its able-bodied members, and closing its schools and shutting up its meeting-house — yet it spared the lives of the Feemsters; and no sooner was the strife ended than these good men and true

* Rev. S. C. Feemster's MS.

were ready to rebuild their altars and resume their service for the Master. The elder Feemster opened his meeting-house for a Freedmen's Sabbath school, and the younger Feemster organized a day school for the same people — the first, probably, that was ever taught in that vicinity, though schools had previously been opened at Lake Providence, in Carroll parish, in the northeast corner of Louisiana, on the west bank of the Mississippi, and at Goodrich's Landing, a few miles south of Lake Providence. A small monthly religious periodical was also established — the first and only Congregational paper ever published at the South. Its name was *The Christian Republic*; and for a motto it had: "One is your master, Christ!" "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed!"

This church — called in our statistical table the Congregational Church of Columbus, Mississippi — is a thorough reformatory body, not only anti-slavery, but anti-masonic, anti-whiskey and anti-tobacco. The church is made up of people who seem to love God and aim to keep his commandments; yet it remains small and feeble, having in 1878 but thirty-one members, many of their young people, after conversion, going into other communions. Nevertheless, Salem Church has been the mother of several able and faithful ministers,*

*The Feemsters are emphatically a ministerial race. Besides the founder of Salem Church, the Rev. Silas J. Feemster,

so that while poor herself she has made others rich.

Besides the church at Columbus — which is the capital of Lowndes county, a flourishing town of four or five thousand inhabitants, on the upper navigable Tombigbee river — there are two other small Congregational churches in the neighborhood: New Ruhamah, near Hamilton, some ten or fifteen miles northeast of Columbus, formed in 1870; and Pleasant Ridge, in Itawamba county, north of Columbus, formed in 1875; and still another at Tougaloo or Tongaloo, Hinds county, some forty miles due east from Vicksburg, formed in 1871, and numbering eighty-six communicants in 1879. Altogether, these four Congregational churches in Mississippi have more than one hundred communicants.

And now, before we close this chapter on Congregationalism in the South, we may as well glance at the present condition of the denomination in all the old Slave States except Missouri, which has history enough of its own to justify a more extended notice.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

In Washington there have always been many

the family has produced six other ministers: Rev. Samuel C. Feemster, Rev. Zenas E. Feemster, Rev. P. S. Feemster, Rev. Robert M. D. Feemster, of Columbus, Mississippi, Rev. S. B. Feemster and Rev. Joseph E. Galloway.

New England people, by whom repeated efforts have been made to establish a Congregational church there. As far back as 1847 this was attempted, and in 1852 a church was actually organized, and for about six and a half years maintained a precarious existence, holding public worship from time to time at long intervals. At one time a house of worship was actually bargained for; and at another a council was called to install a pastor. But the necessary funds for the meeting-house failed, and it was not judged expedient to install a pastor. The same difficulties environed this enterprise as were encountered by Congregationalists in every slave-holding community, with some special hindrances added. But at the close of the Civil War the grand obstacle was removed, and the fullness of time seemed to have come to the waiting Congregationalists of Washington. On the 17th of August, 1865, a religious society was organized, and on January 31, 1867, incorporated as "The First Congregational Society of Washington." But, previously to this, on the 12th of November, 1865, one hundred and seven members of different evangelical churches had associated together under the name of "The First Congregational Church of Washington;" and in October, 1866, a lot of land, for a meeting-house, having been purchased by the Congregational Union, the corner-stone of a church edifice was laid, with appropriate services; the Rev. Dr. J. C. Holbrook, the Rev. Edwin Johnson, of Baltimore,

who had been a leader in this enterprise, and Gen. O. O. Howard taking prominent parts in the services.

The Rev. Charles B. Boynton, D.D., officiated as pastor of this church from April 17, 1865, until April 22, 1869, when he resigned his office. At the same time, one hundred and three members—just one half of the church—asked and received letters of dismission, to organize "The Central Congregational Church of Washington," with the Rev. Dr. Boynton as pastor.

This severe blow to the First Church came from the great enemy of Congregationalism—Slavery; the dividing question being: Whether it was wise to receive colored persons to the communion of the church? The withdrawing members urged that colored applicants should be advised to unite with colored churches.

The new organization was never recognized by an ecclesiastical council, and maintained its Congregational character for a few months only; when it was merged into the "Assembly's [Presbyterian] Church," retaining Dr. Boynton as its pastor.

In August, 1869, the Rev. J. E. Rankin, D.D., of Charlestown, Mass., was invited to the pastorate of the First Church, and entered on the duties of his office in October following, though not formally installed until April 20, 1870. The new meeting-house, which had in the meantime been finished for the society, was dedicated on the same

day of the installation. From that date this church has had a steady and most encouraging growth. In 1872-73 it reported three hundred and thirty-eight members, and more than one thousand connected with the Sabbath schools. In 1874-75 the number of communicants had risen to four hundred and thirteen, and the members of the Sabbath schools to more than eighteen hundred; and in 1878-79 the church reported five hundred and ninety-five members, three hundred and twenty-five families, and eleven hundred in the Sabbath schools.

In the course of four years after Dr. Rankin's settlement, the church and society were able to pay off more than forty thousand dollars of their indebtedness. This church has taken the lead in sustaining Sabbath schools for the colored people, and in the important work of the Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations; and is now recognized among the most influential Christian organizations at the nation's capital.*

Since the War, Congregationalism has been making moderate progress in most of the Southern States. It has, however, been chiefly among the Freedmen; for Southern White men do not yet

*For most of the important details of this account of the First Congregational Church of Washington, the writer is indebted to the pastor of the church, the Rev. J. E. Rankin, D.D., who has proved to be emphatically the right man in the right place.

come freely into our democratic churches, though so strenuous for Democracy in the State.

ALABAMA in 1878 had fifteen Congregational churches and eleven ministers; an aggregate church membership of six hundred and eighty-seven, and fifteen hundred and fifty-two in Sabbath schools. The oldest of these churches was organized in 1868, and the youngest in 1878.

FLORIDA has but a single Congregational church, in Jacksonville, with a pastor and seventy-four members, and one hundred in the Sabbath school. It was organized in 1876.

GEORGIA had, in 1878, eleven Congregational churches and nine ministers; the church members amounted to seven hundred and twenty-two, and there were one thousand and forty-five teachers and scholars in their Sabbath schools. The oldest of these churches dates back only to 1867, and the youngest was organized in 1878.

KENTUCKY reported, in 1878, eight Congregational churches, four ministers, and a membership of four hundred and seventy-two, and seven hundred and eighty-six in her Sabbath schools. The first church was formed in 1850, at Germantown, and the last two in 1878, at Williamsburg and McKee.

LOUISIANA had, in 1878, fourteen Congregational churches, eleven ministers, eight hundred and sixty-three church members, and five hundred and thirty-three in Sabbath schools. Two of these churches were organized in 1866, the last in 1877.

NORTH CAROLINA, in 1878, reported five Congregational churches and four ministers, two hundred and eighty-three church members, and six hundred and fifteen in Sabbath schools. Three of these churches were formed in 1870, and one in 1874.

SOUTH CAROLINA, according to our minutes, had in 1878 only two Congregational churches (organized in 1867 and 1875), with two hundred and forty-nine members, and one hundred and seventy-six in their Sabbath schools. The ancient Independent Church, in Charleston, of which an account has been given in another place, is not included in this report of 1878, though still alive.

TENNESSEE, in September, 1878, had seven Congregational churches and seven ministers, four hundred and forty-three church members, and four hundred and sixty-five in Sabbath schools. The oldest church dates back to 1864, the youngest to 1876.

VIRGINIA had in 1878 three Congregational churches (1868, 1869, 1877), and four ministers; a church membership of two hundred and fourteen, with four hundred and five in Sabbath schools.

WEST VIRGINIA had also two small Congregational churches (1872, 1874), with sixty-seven communicants only, but with two hundred and seventy-seven in Sabbath schools.

TEXAS, even, has felt the Congregational movement; and since 1866 it has organized nine or ten

Congregational churches, though it has now (1878) but seven living, and seven ministers. The total church membership was one hundred and ninety-nine in September, 1878, and in the Sabbath schools were three hundred and fifty-seven members.

None of the churches which have been named are class-churches, and several of them have White pastors; yet the membership consists mainly of Colored persons. All but four of the churches—three in Kentucky, and the Salem Church in Mississippi—have been formed since the Civil War, and can hardly yet be regarded as established institutions. They are not indigenous to the soil on which they are planted. They are, to both the White and the Colored inhabitants of those States, foreign institutions; and to the Whites they are strongly suggestive of principles and people generally least loved beyond Mason and Dixon's line. The Freedmen—the more intelligent and ambitious of them, at least—readily embrace the idea of a free church, in which all are brethren, and equals before a common Master. And it is not difficult to gather them into Congregational churches. But their intelligence and culture are mainly the fruits of a few years of free life, and of the most rudimentary and imperfect kind. Their type of piety is largely emotional and superficial, while their moral perceptions—their estimate of right and wrong—and their habits of life are generally of a lower order

than would be tolerated in a Congregational church at the North. Still, mixed with this "hay, wood and stubble," there is much real "gold, silver, precious stones," which, we cannot doubt, will abide the day of trial.

The ultimate fate of these Colored Congregational churches is perhaps still somewhat problematical. In the meantime there should be no relaxation of our denominational interest in them and efforts for them, while we carefully guard against unreasonable expectations.

On the whole, it is quite apparent that there is not very much Congregational church history in the old slave-holding States on which to congratulate ourselves. The polity of the Pilgrims has never found much favor with slave-holders; and, though there is no longer any slave-holding in our Southern States, yet there still remains among the people so much of the old leaven of hostility to New England Puritanism that any kindly reception of Congregationalism, for a generation or two at least, must not be expected of the more influential Whites of the South. It is only from among the Freedmen and the non-slave-holding portion of the Whites there that we can expect to gather immediate followers. And even among them our progress must be slow; for they generally need some education and considerable training before they can be relied on to organize and manage Congregational churches successfully.

And this suggests what is really the greatest and most promising present work of our churches at the South. It is the same sort of work which our foreign missionaries have ever found indispensable to permanent success among heathen and pagan nations — the education of the people in the common branches of learning, and the preparation of native teachers and preachers. And it is in just this direction that Congregationalism can take credit to itself for what it has done and is now doing at the South. It has given freely of its money, and has furnished large numbers of men and women of intelligence and piety to establish and carry on common schools, academies, institutes and colleges. In the higher institutions, it can point with pride to seven or eight literary establishments, in as many different Southern States; to a dozen other educational establishments of a somewhat lower grade, but much above the common school, and to a score or more of common schools. None of these are class institutions, but all admit Whites and Colored students on an equal footing, and females and males; and the higher institutions are generally quite comprehensive in their courses of study.

The history of these higher institutions particularly is full of interest. Take, for example:

BEBEA COLLEGE, in Kentucky, the oldest and one of the most promising of them all. This college originated with the Rev. John G. Fee, a Congregational minister, a native of Kentucky, and

the son of a slave-holder. He was educated at Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, where he imbibed anti-slavery opinions, which induced him to devote himself to the elevation and salvation of the bondmen of his native State. In this, however, he encountered the most virulent opposition and persecution.

Sometime in 1854, Mr. Fee, disinherited by his parents and disowned by his friends, retired to a tract of uncultivated land given to him by Cassius M. Clay, situate on the edge of the hill-country of Kentucky, in the southern part of Madison county, near the geographical centre of the State. He there cleared a little spot, and erected a rude cottage for his delicately-nurtured wife and his young children. Among the hills he found a few Whites who agreed with him in forming a Congregational church, without regard to caste, race or color, and after awhile a log meeting-house was built, and Mr. Fee began his great life-work. After a year or two he was joined by a Northern man of kindred views, Prof. J. A. R. Rogers, and a school was started by the two men in a little shanty erected for the purpose. It was unexpectedly successful. The excellence of its teachers and the liberal Christian principles on which this school was conducted soon drew pupils from all the region round about, and it went on prosperously until the John Brown raid into Virginia, in 1859. This alarmed the slave-holders and stirred up a persecution against the church and school at

Berea. This culminated in a county meeting and the appointment of a committee of sixty-five armed men to order Mr. Fee and Prof. Rogers out of the State, with their school, in ten days. This command, backed with bowie-knives and fire-arms, of course was obeyed, and the church and school were immediately dispersed and disbanded, and so continued during the Confederate war. But immediately after, Mr. Fee and Prof. Rogers were upon their old camping-ground, rallying the scattered church members and gathering another school. And it is pleasant to be able to report that both church and school have gone on prosperously ever since; the church now (1878-79) numbering one hundred and forty communicants, and the school—or college, as it is now named—two hundred and more students. And now, instead of a log-house or a rough-board building for its only school-house, and a small tenement for its female scholars, it can boast of a noble and beautiful college building of brick, with two fronts of one hundred and twenty feet each in length, and three stories high above the basement story, with rooms for one hundred and ten young ladies, a dining-room for two hundred boarders, besides library-room, parlor, reception-room, offices, etc.—erected at the cost of \$50,000; and, besides this, it has a nice dormitory, built for the use of the young men, at an expense of \$18,000, and other convenient and sufficient buildings for all its immediate wants.

Berea College has now a president, the Rev. Edward H. Fairchild, and three additional professors, together with a principal in the preparatory department, a lady principal in the female department, and five assistant teachers. It now gathers pupils from all parts of Kentucky—thirty or forty towns being represented—and from all the neighboring States; ten or more different States having representatives among the students.

Such an institution, founded by Congregational ministers, taught largely by men and women of the same faith, and supported in part by the American Missionary Association, a Congregational society, is certainly something of which the denomination have a right to be proud.*

FISK UNIVERSITY, chartered August, 1867, situate a mile and a quarter from the State House in Nashville, Tennessee, may almost be said to be the work of emancipated slaves themselves; for it was largely by the personal efforts of a company of young men and women of this institution that funds sufficient were raised to buy a lot of twenty-five acres of land and erect an elegant and commodious college building, named "Jubilee Hall," in memory of this band of "Jubilee Singers," whose sweet music has drawn money from thou-

* The facts in this sketch are drawn from the *Reports of the American Miss. Assn.*, particularly that for 1873, pp. 40-47; and from President Fairchild's account of the college in *Johnson's New Cyclopædia*, art. Berea.

sands of pockets as well as tears from as many eyes. This building is of three stories above the basement, of brick, trimmed with stone, with all needful accommodations for two hundred boarders, and dormitories for one hundred and seventy.

Fisk University — so named in honor of Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, one of its earliest friends and patrons — began life in the old United States barracks by teaching the alphabet to the Freedmen of Tennessee. But, through much poverty and many difficulties, it has grown in twelve years to be a veritable university, having five courses of study definitely arranged, and competent teachers in every department. These courses are: college course, college-preparatory, high normal, common-school normal, and theological course. It maintains also primary and intermediate schools, and affords instruction in music, book-keeping, &c. In 1878 this institution had seven male professors and teachers and eight female, qualified to give instruction in mental and moral science, Greek, Latin, French and German; in theology, natural sciences, mathematics, history, geography, English grammar and composition, and English branches generally, culture of the voice and instrumental and vocal music — all which branches are taught in this university. It has also a model school and a competent superintendent at its head.

In the college course there were in 1878 twenty-six students; in the college preparatory course,

fifty-four; in the theological course, twenty-five; in the normal course, one hundred and sixty-four; and in the model school, ninety-five; in all, three hundred and thirty-eight different students.

THE HAMPTON NORMAL AND AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE, near Fortress Monroe, Hampton, Va., was opened in April, 1868, when the American Missionary Association, having purchased a farm of one hundred and twenty-five acres at the mouth of Hampton Creek, fitted up temporary buildings, and opened a school for the Freedmen.

The Institute began with twenty pupils. In 1870 it was chartered by the General Assembly of Virginia, and went into full operation, reporting in 1871 eighty-six students, under the care of a principal, Gen. S. C. Armstrong, two gentlemen in the agricultural department, and five ladies in the academical and industrial departments. In 1878 the Institute required the services of five gentlemen and twelve ladies in its several departments.

The catalogue for that year showed three hundred and thirty-two pupils on the roll — two hundred and two males and one hundred and thirty females; and a class of fifteen wild Indian boys, on whom the experiment was being tried anew which John Eliot so successfully tried two hundred years ago, of introducing with Christianity the arts of civilized life, under the persuasion that if the Indian lived by hunting and fishing solely he could never be effectually Christianized.

THE UNIVERSITY AT ATLANTA, GA., was chartered in 1867, and has received for sometime \$8,000 a year from the State treasury towards its support, and in 1878 received \$1,600 from the American Missionary Association. This institution, like all the others aided by the American Missionary Association, is open to Blacks and Whites, males and females. It maintains a college course, a college preparatory course, and a normal course: having in 1878 two hundred and forty-four students in all. The normal department, however, seems much the most prominent, having in it last year one hundred and seventy-six students. And from this department large numbers go out every year to teach school for a longer or shorter period, in every part of the State—in school-houses, in church buildings, in log-cabins, in brush arbors, in barns—anywhere and everywhere that a partial protection from the burning sun or driving rain can be obtained for the children. Of whole classes of graduates it can sometimes be said they are all religious young men and women. The university is provided with a large and able body of teachers in all the usual branches of a college and normal course—six gentlemen and six ladies: and is doing a great and good work for the Freedmen of Georgia. It was at one of the examinations of this institution that ex-Governor Brown, of Georgia, speaking for the Board of Visitors—most of them Southerners and Democrats—said

that the exercises of the two preceding days had dispelled the opinion heretofore entertained, that the members of the African race were incapable of a high degree of mental culture.*

The trustees of the Peabody Educational Fund have recently agreed to furnish fourteen free scholarships, of \$72 each, in this institution.

TALLADEGA COLLEGE is another prosperous and useful institution under the supervision of the American Missionary Association. It is situate in the prosperous little city of Talladega, in the interior of Alabama, near the Coosa river, one hundred and ten miles east of north of Montgomery.

The American Missionary Association purchased property there and established a school as early as 1867, though the college was not incorporated until February, 1869. It has now two large brick buildings: one for the boarding department and the girls' dormitories, and the other for school-rooms. A third one, for the boys' dormitories, is now being erected. It has a theological course, a normal course, and an intermediate course; a literary department, an agricultural and an industrial department; and in them all there were, in 1878, two hundred and seventy-two students, some of whom had walked scores of miles to reach the school, and were supporting themselves by working on the college farm while

* *Report American Miss. Assn.*, 1871, p. 42.

pursuing their studies. The preparation of teachers for the common schools is here, as in all these institutions, a leading object, and some idea of what is being done by Talladega College in this direction may be derived from the statement that in the course of seven years the students had taught about five hundred day schools, containing fifteen thousand scholars, and had organized twenty thousand scholars into Sunday schools.

TOUGALOO UNIVERSITY is for the present only a superior normal school, with an agricultural department attached. It maintains a normal course, an intermediate course, and a primary one, and had, at the last report, nearly two hundred scholars, all told. Its teachers are a principal and teacher of the Bible and of moral philosophy, a teacher of higher mathematics, one of Latin and the natural sciences, and another of English branches generally; a teacher in the preparatory department, another in the primary department, and still another in the sewing department; vocal and instrumental music are also taught. This institution has a fine plantation of five hundred acres, and four frame buildings for school uses, and contemplates erecting another building, which shall cost \$25,000, provided the Missionary Association can raise \$15,000 to secure the State conditional appropriation of \$10,000. The demand for school teachers from the Tougaloo school is greater than can be supplied. The farm affords opportunity for poor students to pay

half their expenses by working two or three hours a day.

STRAIGHT UNIVERSITY, in the city of New Orleans, La., is another of the institutions in which our Congregational churches have a special interest. It was incorporated in June, 1869, and the first school-building was completed in February, 1870. It immediately went into successful operation, and during the first eight years of its existence had upon its rolls more than three thousand students. In 1878 there were in the different departments of the institution an aggregate of two hundred and eighty-seven students. It aims to be, in a modest way, a veritable university, having not only primary and preparatory departments, and normal and college courses, but a professional department for theology and law. Jurists of reputation and successful practice at the Louisiana bar, Southern gentlemen, have kindly given their services to the law department, and have made it so popular that White young men, as well as the Colored, resort to the school. Eight students have in a single year graduated, after a two years' course, and have been admitted at once to practise in all the courts of Louisiana. It is the aim of the theological professors to make their course as thorough as possible, including even the original languages of the Scriptures in their curriculum. But where this fuller course of study cannot be advantageously attempted, they endeavor to make the best possible use of the materials at hand, in

order to meet the pressing calls from a Colored population of three hundred and seventy thousand for well-instructed men of piety and ability and aptness to speak and to teach. The first college building, erected in 1870, on Esplanade street, was set on fire by some evil-minded person and entirely destroyed in 1877. But, nothing daunted, the Missionary Association and the trustees of the university immediately purchased a very desirable lot of land on Canal street, and have erected a fine, substantial building of seventy-two feet by fifty-one and a half, with five large recitation rooms, and all other indispensable conveniences for a university building; and this edifice is now occupied and improved by the institution.

In addition to these higher schools, most of which aim to be ultimately colleges and universities, the American Missionary Association contributes to the support of the theological department of Howard University, in Washington, D. C.; to Tillotson Normal School, in Austin, Texas; to normal and graded schools in Wilmington and Raleigh, N. C.; in Charleston and Greenwood, S. C.; in Atlanta, Macon and Savannah, Ga.; in Athens, Mobile, Montgomery and Selma, Ala.; in Chattanooga and Memphis, Tenn.; and in Lexington, Ky. It is also helping to sustain a score of common schools in different sections of the South.

This is a part—perhaps the most important part—of the good work which the Congregational churches of the United States are doing in

the South, through the agency of the American Missionary Association. For this association, though not sectarian in its organization, is nevertheless now almost entirely supported by Congregationalists, not a church of any other denomination contributing to its funds, and but few individuals.

But in addition to its schools—the principal teachers in which are all Congregationalists—and the thousands of students under their instruction, the Missionary Association can point to more than sixty Congregational churches which are helped by it, containing more than four thousand communicants, nearly seven hundred being added in 1878; to nearly six thousand scholars in their church and mission Sunday schools; and to about seventy missionaries, male and female, supported by its funds. And in all this Southern work they have been spending at the rate of more than \$200,000 annually for seventeen years, or about \$3,500,000 in all.*

In view of all this educational and missionary work at the South, the Congregationalists, though not very successful in founding churches in that section of our country, have good reason to think that God will not forget their work and labor of love which they have showed towards his name, in that they have ministered to the poor Freedmen, and do minister continually.

* For the materials of this sketch of the work of the American Missionary Association at the South, I am indebted to the *Reports* of the Association, and to a manuscript communication of one of its secretaries, Rev. C. L. Woodworth.

CHAPTER IV.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN MISSOURI — EARLY MISSIONARY EXPLO-
RATIONS AND LABORS, 1812 AND ONWARD — AMERICAN HOME
MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S WORK IN MISSOURI, 1832 AND ONWARD
— FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, 1841 — DENOMINATIONAL
PROGRESS — EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

MISSOURI was admitted to the Union, as a slave State, in 1821, after a stormy and protracted debate in Congress. It is a part of the old "Louisiana Country," purchased of France in 1803, and which comprised a million and a half square miles. Missouri was first settled by the French from Canada about 1719. The present State of Missouri, though but a small fragment of the Louisiana Country, is nevertheless one of the largest in the Union, embracing an area of more than sixty-seven thousand square miles. It is, too, by its location, one of the most favored of our States, being nearly central to the entire continent. In its water courses it is without a superior, having the two longest rivers in the world, with their multitudinous branches, to minister to its wants. Its soil is rich and varied. Its climate is variable, but is adapted to a great variety of productions. In its mineral resources it is particularly rich. In short, Missouri has perhaps, on the whole, as many natural attractions as any

State in the Union. And yet its progress for a century and a half has been comparatively slow and unsatisfactory, and for the reason that negro slavery has been a cherished institution of the State until within a few years.*

Eastern Congregationalists, though slow to emigrate to Missouri, very early interested themselves in the moral condition of the Territory. In the year 1812, the Massachusetts and Connecticut Missionary societies employed the Rev. John F. Schermerborn and the Rev. Samuel J. Mills to explore the country west and south of the Alleghanies, along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, "with regard to morals and religion." These gentlemen in 1813 reported that the settlements in Missouri were scattered, and confined almost exclusively to the water courses, and that the

*Take for comparison a few figures pertaining to the population of Missouri and Illinois, contiguous States, lying side by side, separated only by the Mississippi river:

Missouri in 1810, ninety years after it was first settled, had a population of 20,845, in 1820 its population was 60,586, which in 1830 had grown to 140,155, in 1840, to 283,702, in 1850, to 682,044; and in 1852, to 724,687; of whom 87,207 were negro slaves. In 1860 the State had a population of 1,182,000.

Illinois — Now turn to this Free State, organized as a Territory in 1809, and admitted to the Union in 1818. In 1810 it contained 12,282 inhabitants, which number was more than quadrupled by 1820 amounting to 55,211, in 1830, to 157,445, and in 1840 to more than three times that number, namely, 476,183. In 1850 it could boast of 851,470 inhabitants; and in 1860, of 1,711,951, all free citizens. And yet its area is less than Missouri by 12,000 square miles.

whole Territory contained about twenty thousand souls, two fifths of whom were Americans, and the rest French; that among them all there was not one Congregational or Presbyterian minister or church, and only some five or six small Baptist churches, and perhaps twice that number of itinerant and local Methodist preachers, the ministers of both denominations being for the most part uneducated and ill-qualified to preach. Yet there were, even then and there, a hundred or more families, many of them from Connecticut, which had been educated among the Congregationalists or Presbyterians, and which would gladly unite in church organizations, and welcome ministers of either of these denominations.*

The success of this first mission encouraged Eastern Christians to project another for the more thorough exploration of this great unknown Southwestern Territory. Accordingly, in May, 1814, the old Massachusetts Missionary Society appropriated \$600 of the \$2,000 considered necessary to defray the expenses of two exploring agents for twelve months. Other societies made up the requisite sum, and two good men and true were set apart to this laborious and hazardous mission. One of them was the same Samuel J. Mills who accompanied Mr. Schermerhorn in the previous explorations, and whose name and fame are familiar to all Christendom; the other was

* See *Schermerhorn's Report*, pp. 32-33.

Mr. Daniel Smith, of Bennington, Vt., a graduate of Middlebury College and Andover Theological Seminary. These gentlemen were ready to start in July, 1814, and were engaged in their explorations for nearly or quite a year, traversing the whole Western and Southern country along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, from the State of Ohio to New Orleans. As they went, they gathered useful information; they preached the gospel; they distributed Bibles and tracts, and did all the missionary work that they could in the limited time allowed them. In relation to Missouri they reported: "This Territory presents a very important and interesting field for missionary labors. There are many persons here who have heretofore been members either of Congregational or Presbyterian churches, and who regret with many a heart-ache and many a tear the loss of former privileges, and are looking with anxiety toward the rising sun for some one to come to them who shall again stand and feed them in the name of Christ, and break to them the bread of life."

And in another communication they say: "The Missouri Territory is fast rising into importance, and is well worthy the attention of missionary societies. . . . In St. Louis and its neighborhood the call is extremely urgent for a clergyman. . . . When we told them that a missionary had been appointed to that station by the Connecticut Missionary Society, they received the information

with joy, and they are anxiously expecting his arrival."*

St. Louis at that time — 1814 — had a population of about two thousand souls, one third of whom were Americans, who, it was said, would readily raise twelve or fourteen hundred dollars for a suitable and acceptable evangelical minister. Besides St. Louis, it was reported that there were other settlements of Americans, many of whom were Eastern men, scattered along the water courses of Missouri, who would gladly avail themselves of the services of an evangelical minister of intelligence. Particular mention was made of an American settlement at the Lead Mine, forty miles west of St. Genevieve, of about twenty families, which, on hearing that a missionary was in the neighborhood, immediately raised a subscription of \$200, and sent a pressing message to Mr. Mills to visit them. On the Saline, five miles from St. Genevieve, was another American settlement of about fifty families. Another settlement of a hundred and fifty or two hundred families had been made on the St. Francis. Toward the northwest from St. Louis there were also several very considerable settlements scattered along the banks of the Mississippi, the Missouri, and their tributaries. And yet, when these New England

* Letters to Dr. Worcester, chairman of the committee of the Mass. Miss. Soc., dated St. Louis, January, 1816. — *Panoplist*, XI, 231, 276.

missionaries visited some of these settlements, they could not learn that ever before a Congregational or Presbyterian minister had been in them.

The whole Territory, though represented as in a state of deplorable darkness as to all religious knowledge and institutions, was yet reported to be a country fast rising into importance, and well worthy the attention of the missionary societies of New England.*

These reports greatly interested the New England Congregationalists, and they at once decided to send Christian missionaries into this inviting field. The Connecticut Missionary Society took the lead, as usual, where there was work to be done in the Western country; and from the year 1814 onward Connecticut missionaries continued to traverse the wilds of Missouri in every direction where settlements had been made; often on foot, or in boats or canoes, at great personal sacrifice, exposure, and hazard of life even.

They established Sunday schools; they organized churches; they formed Bible and tract societies, and circulated Bibles and religious tracts far and wide; they visited the sick and dying, and generally did what they could to awaken religious interest and to benefit the people of that new country.

The first appointments of missionaries to reside

* See the *Fifteenth Annual Report Conn. Miss. Soc.*, 1814, pp. 17-18.

in Missouri were made in 1815, and the Rev. Wm. R. Gould and the Rev. Salmon Giddings, graduates of Andover Theological Seminary in the class of 1814, were the appointees. But Mr. Gould at the time seems to have been actively and successfully engaged in missionary work in Ohio, and preferred to remain there and become the pastor of the church which he had formed at Gallipolis. Mr. Giddings accepted the appointment, and on the 20th of December, 1815, was ordained an evangelist by the South Association of Hartford county, at the request of the committee of missions, "with a view of going as a missionary to St. Louis and its vicinity, in the Missouri Territory, west of the river Mississippi, commissioned to labor in such vacant settlements as he should pass through on his way to that remote region." *

Mr. Giddings proved himself an able and successful missionary till 1826, when he was called to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, which he was instrumental in forming. He, however, lived but about two years after his installation, dying in February, 1828, at the early age of forty-six years.

Mr. Giddings was a scholarly man as well as a faithful missionary. He graduated at Williams College, in 1811, and was tutor there in 1814-15, after finishing his Andover theological course.

* *Panoplus*, xi, 232; xii, 134-35.

He taught part of his time in St. Louis. He was well received in all the adjacent region, and was instrumental in forming many churches—one in Belleview, one at Richmond, another at Bonhomme, and others elsewhere.*

The Rev. Timothy Flint was another of the early Congregational missionaries in Missouri. He arrived at St. Louis with his family in May, 1816, having previously labored in Kentucky and Ohio. After preaching for several months in St. Louis, he removed to St. Charles, about twenty miles northwest of St. Louis, on the Missouri river, where he established his family and made his headquarters.†

Mr. Flint was in Missouri during 1817, and represented the country to the missionary society as "a boundless field." He had no pastoral charge, but travelled among the scattered settlements for more than a hundred miles up and down the Missouri river; and in his view, "no missionary station in the United States could be more interesting. The soil and climate were inviting. Beyond example, the inhabitants were multiplying by arrivals from almost every section of the Union. At no very distant period it would, in human view, be central to the civilized population of North America."‡ This concep-

* *Panoplist*, XIII, 135; XIV, 188; XV, 123-24.

† *Panoplist*, XIII, 136-37.

‡ *Panoplist*, XIV, 188.

tion of what Missouri was destined to be — what it would have been years ago but for negro slavery — prompted Mr. Flint and his associate, Mr. Giddings, to great and toilsome and incessant labor for years, amidst all the hardships and dangers of that wilderness country.*

In 1818-19 Mr. Giddings wrote to the trustees of the Connecticut Missionary Society that he had preached regularly at St. Louis every Sabbath except the fourth in each month, when he preached in the country, and that there appeared more than usual attention to religion in the place; "a number were deeply distressed on account of their sins, and some were rejoicing in hope that they had met with a saving change;" and, furthermore, that the people of St. Louis were about to erect a house for the public worship of God. "People in the country," he continues, "are surprised at the alteration in St. Louis within two years; and alterations for the better are visible in almost every place where missionary labors have been bestowed."† As an evidence of this improved state of things, it is stated that seven churches had already been formed in the Territory, one of which had a pastor and another a minister residing among them, but the other five

* It is related that Mr. Flint would sometimes travel, on foot, a distance of eighty miles in the course of the week, through the wilderness, and that he had crossed the Missouri river sixteen times in seven weeks. — *Panoplist*, xv, 123.

† *Panoplist*, xv, 124.

were dependent altogether on missionary supplies. The most distant churches were one hundred and forty miles apart.* To these churches frequent additions were made, and more laborers in the field were imperatively demanded. This was the report from the Territory in 1819.

The same year the Rev. John Matthews was commissioned by the Connecticut Society to labor six months in Missouri as their missionary.† The Rev. Edward Hollister was employed in 1822, and wrote a very interesting account of his labors in Missouri. He says, among other things, that he had on one occasion received six applications to preach in different neighborhoods; one signed by thirty-four persons.‡

Thus the New England Congregationalists, after having explored the country, and ascertained its wants and its importance, never ceased their efforts for the religious improvement of Missouri, though after about 1826-32 their work was done by other hands at their expense.

In 1826 the American Home Missionary Society was formed in the city of New York, by delegates in convention from thirteen different States and Territories, representing the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Reformed Dutch and Associate Reformed churches.

* *Ibid.*

† *Panoplist*, XVI, 225-26.

‡ *Christian Spectator*, January, 1823; *Miss. Herald*, XIX, 69-70.

The design was to have the society thoroughly evangelical but entirely undenominational, and equally ready to support missionaries of any of the associated denominations. It was to be a National Institution, to which the various State and other home missionary organizations were all to become auxiliaries, and through which they were to dispense their contributions in aid of new and feeble churches and in support of home missionaries all over this country.

The first annual report of this National Home Missionary Society was made in May, 1827. At that time none of the New England home missionary societies had become auxiliary, except that of the Londonderry Presbytery, in New Hampshire. The next year (1828) the New Hampshire Missionary Society, the Massachusetts Missionary Society, the Hampshire (Mass.) Missionary Society, and the Vermont Domestic Missionary Society, all became auxiliary. In 1829 the Rhode Island and Maine societies followed, and in 1831 the Domestic Missionary Society of Connecticut became auxiliary; but not until 1832 did the venerable Connecticut Missionary Society—the foster-mother of the Western churches—surrender her life-long work of sending missionaries to the “Western country,” after having been actively engaged in it for about forty years, and having sent into the field more than two hundred missionaries, who had rendered six hundred years of ministerial service, had formed

probably five hundred churches, established numerous schools, and scattered Bibles and religious books and tracts by tens of thousands among the destitute of our Western country.*

The several denominational societies having given up to the American Home Missionary Society the responsibility and superintendence of the missionary work in the Western States and Territories, that society at once assumed this responsibility, and entered vigorously on its work. This was a union, undenominational work — on paper; but, like other union enterprises into which New England Congregationalists have been drawn, the men and the money necessary to carry it on were to come largely from New England Congregationalists, while the direct profits of the business were to accrue chiefly to Presbyterianism.

A great and good religious work was indeed done by the American Home Missionary Society in Missouri; though nearly or quite every church which it organized in the State was made over to the Presbyterians.

In 1832 the society had twelve or thirteen mis-

*The Connecticut churches were actively engaged in home missionary work in 1793, through the General Association of the Churches; but the Connecticut Missionary Society was not formed until 1798. In 1825 this society claimed to have employed one hundred and eighty missionaries, and paid them for time equal to the services of one man five hundred years; and to have distributed nearly 50,000 Bibles, tracts and other religious books, and notwithstanding all this liberality of expenditure, the society then had a fund of \$25,000 in hand for further use.

missionaries in Missouri, every man of them engaged in building up Presbyterian churches. And in 1850 the society was supporting, in part or entirely, thirty-three missionaries in that State, all engaged in the same denominational work, and not one Congregationalist among them all; or rather, not one man who did the appropriate work of a Congregationalist in church building. And yet, for fifteen years after the American Home Missionary Society was organized, New England contributed nearly one half of all the money which was used by that society.* And even this does not show anything like the full indebtedness of the Western churches to the unselfish generosity of New England; for, besides all that was contributed directly to the missionary treasury, a broad and deep stream of contributions was during all this time steadily flowing from the New England churches westward, to build meeting-houses, establish schools, endow colleges, and generally to provide the West with the various institutions of learning and religion which had made New England what she was.†

* The total receipts of the American Home Missionary Society for fifteen years, from 1820 to 1844, both included, were \$981,306, of which New England churches paid \$403,743, which is less than half by \$577,563 only.

† The work of soliciting money from the Congregationalists in New England for Presbyterian churches in Missouri began as early as 1824, when the Rev. Salmon Giddings, once a New England Congregationalist, came East to collect money enough to build the meeting-house in St. Louis, which had been begun

And this policy of the Home Missionary Society was continued until about 1860-62, when the New School Presbyterians followed the example of the Old School, and broke away from the society, in order to do more effectually its denominational work.

Though impartial history requires this statement regarding the manner in which Congregationalists were made to do so much missionary work in this State for the Presbyterians, yet it is in no unkindly spirit that these things are said. The Presbyterians honestly believed their church polity was the polity for the West. And they were able to persuade the Congregationalists in that country — the ministers especially — that it was even so; and accordingly Congregationalism found its worst foes — those of its own house.

Having noticed the efforts of Congregational-

the year previous, but which the Presbyterians could not raise money enough to finish. — *Report Conn. Miss. Soc.*, 1825, p. 20; 1827, p. 18.

Many years subsequent, another New Englander, by birth and education a Congregationalist, who had become the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, came to the Congregational churches of New England, and raised a very considerable sum of money, to build meeting-houses for New School Presbyterian churches in Missouri. And this he succeeded in doing, though he avowed his purpose to do his utmost to keep Congregationalism out of Missouri.

Is there another religious denomination in the world that would have given money freely to a man who could avow such a purpose regarding them as this good man did? And we are almost ready to ask, if there was another man in the country who could have made such an avowal under the same circumstances?

ists to build up Presbyterianism in Missouri, we turn now to what was finally done to build up Congregational churches in that State.

The first Congregational church in Missouri was formed in 1841, in the valley of Arcadia, Iron county, in the southeastern part of the State. It came to pass on this wise: About the years 1837-38 the Iron mountain excitement drew many immigrants to that unknown region. Among these was Col. Cyrus Russell and his large family: a wife, five sons, four daughters, and a nephew of Mrs. Russell, from Somers, Connecticut; and with them came Augustus Pease and his family, also from Somers. In 1840 these settlers were joined by Nathan Trumbull, from Monson, Mass., and his family of four adults. On inquiry, these good people found several other persons in the neighborhood who were ready to join them in having religious services on the Sabbath, and in organizing and sustaining a Sunday school. After a year or more, the three New England families—the others having removed from the neighborhood—decided to organize themselves into a Congregational church.* And late in the year 1841 the heads of these families met together, adopted the Covenant, Articles of Faith and Rules of Practice of the church of Somers.

* The six original members of this church were: Cyrus Russell and Rebecca P. Russell, his wife; Augustus Pease and Sarah A. Pease, his wife; and Nathan Trumbull and Ursula Trumbull, his wife.

Conn., and constituted themselves "The Congregational Church of Arcadia" — the first church of our order ever known in Missouri.

This little, lonely church, far from all congenial associations, in a community which had no sympathy with their peculiar views — if indeed it cared for religion in any form — struggled on for half a score of years and more, receiving occasional additions, but losing by deaths and removals about as fast, so that it was never anything but a "little flock." It was, however, a good little flock, anxious to have and willing to support a pastor. Yet for nine or ten years out of twelve, the church was compelled to put up with the occasional services of transient ministers. Once only were they able to retain a minister beyond a few months. The Rev. John Tappan Peirce, of Brookline, Mass., remained with them two years or more.

But the absence of a minister to lead their public devotions and instruct them in the ways of righteousness never prevented the church from meeting for social worship and religious improvement, and with so much spirit as often to attract their neighbors for miles around.

Thus they were able to hold on their Congregational way until 1852-53. In the spring of 1852 the Rev. Donatus Merrill, who had been supplying them for some time, left them for a more inviting field in Illinois. This was a sore disappointment to the Arcadians. Nevertheless, they bore up for a time, while they sought ear-

nestly a Congregational pastor, being convinced that a permanent pastor was essential to their growth and prosperity. Twice they sent messengers all the way to New England to induce some good Congregational minister to visit them with a view to a permanent settlement. But all was in vain; such a minister could not be found, either East or West. Yet, why not? Mainly, because the church was in a slave State.

The result was as might have been anticipated. The good people at length became discouraged, and were induced to employ a Presbyterian minister one fourth of the time; then, one half the time; and next, three fourths of the time. As with similar experiments generally, this one resulted in the untimely death of the first Congregational church of Missouri, and its burial in a neighboring Presbytery. This, however, was clearly an involuntary death, for which the little church cannot be much blamed. They had stood alone for about twelve years, in a distant frontier of the country, among a people unsympathetic, if not actually and openly hostile; having no additions to their membership, except from their own families, and an occasional immigrant from New England, and regarded with so much suspicion and dislike that their Presbyterian neighbors preferred to live without any church connections or privileges rather than countenance a New England church organization which recognized neither the Divine right of Presbytery nor that of Negro slavery.

Having finally submitted as gracefully as possible to what seemed inevitable, the Ironton Church, as it was then called, immediately began to prosper, and grow in numbers and influence, at one time numbering one hundred and fifty communicants.

But even in its original state, small as it was, this church was a power in that rich mineral district. It was a beacon light to that whole region. It lifted up a standard of morals and religion which has never yet been thrown down, and which has given character to the entire section of country where it was first planted.*

We have now to turn from the abortive attempt to establish Congregationalism in Southern Missouri to more successful attempts in other parts of the State.

* For the very instructive and interesting facts in this sketch of "The Congregational Church of Arcadia" — Ironton — the author is greatly indebted to the Hon. T. P. Russell and his brother, H. P. Russell, of Ironton, or Arcadia, Mo. These gentlemen are sons of Col. Cyrus Russell, one of the founders and chief supporters of this notable little church. Col. Russell's entire family of children — five sons and four daughters — were all alive in 1874, and were all members of evangelical churches; and what is more, the husbands and wives of these nine children were all church members; and, what is still more, the children of these nine children, to the number of thirty, were also church members in 1874. And of the entire group of forty-two children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of this precious old Connecticut saint, Cyrus Russell, not one uses any intoxicating drink, and but two use tobacco. Surely we may call this family "a noble vine, wholly a right seed, . . . which the Lord hath blessed."

In 1847 the Rev. Truman M. Post — a graduate of Middlebury College and Andover Theological Seminary, and for several years tutor or professor in Illinois College — was engaged to supply the Third Presbyterian Church of St. Louis for four years. This engagement was fulfilled to the acceptance of the church and people; for Mr. Post was a man of scholarly habits, and an attractive and impressive preacher. But he was withal a sound Congregationalist; and, unlike many of the young Andover divines who went West about that time, he did not lose his head on the prairies and become a Presbyterian. Just at the close of his engagement, it transpired that quite a number of his hearers were anxious to retain him among them out of personal regard, and from sympathy, too, with his views of church polity; and in December, 1851, a concerted movement was made to this end. Mr. Post was invited to preach on Congregationalism as a church polity, and on the expediency of organizing a church of that order in St. Louis. With this request he complied, and on the 11th of January, 1852, delivered an able and instructive discourse on these topics, but so conciliatory and unexceptionable in its tone that it gave no offense to those even who most widely differed from him in sentiment. In this discourse he set forth briefly the leading arguments for the Congregational system, derived from the New Testament, early ecclesiastical history, and the history and experience of modern times. It was not

claimed that the Congregational polity and practice were faultless; but it was claimed, and proved too, that they were eminently Scriptural and apostolic in general character, beautifully simple and effective in practice, admirably adapted to promote the intellectual, moral and religious interests of a community, and to preserve the general purity of the churches; and, withal, were in special harmony with our Republican form of civil government; being, in point of fact, the model after which our fathers worked in forming our national constitution and our State organizations.

While, therefore, the preacher carefully avoided any assault on other ecclesiastical politics, he manfully maintained the claims of this oldest and best of church politics to the confidence and love of American Christians.

And yet this earnest advocate of Congregationalism would not have a church of this order organized in St. Louis, unless there was a clear and unequivocal demand for it; unless there were men and women enough there who preferred this polity to all others to support a church without proselyting from other churches. But if there were in that city of one hundred thousand inhabitants Christian people who could work for the Master better in a Congregational church than in any other — enough to sustain such an enterprise — why should it not be inaugurated? Who should say that, while every other church organization was allowed to live and grow among them, the polity

of the Pilgrims—the church of the fathers, from which had flowed to this entire community so much of wealth and enterprise, love of liberty, and moral and religious culture—who should say that, while all other isms were welcome to St. Louis, Congregationalism should be excluded?

So well satisfied were the hearers of this discourse, that they set at work at once to organize a church; and on the 14th of March, 1852, "The First Trinitarian Congregational Church of St. Louis" was constituted, with seventy-seven members. From the start it was—what it has always been—a self-sustaining church, neither seeking nor needing any help from abroad. What was peculiar and worthy of special note in this enterprise was, that, from the first, it was the spontaneous movement of laymen, without the advice, or even knowledge, of any clergyman. It was not until some time after the decision to form a Congregational church had been reached that Dr. Post was asked to become its pastor; not until his engagement with the Third Presbyterian Church had expired, and he was at liberty to accept this unsought invitation.

In this spontaneous movement there were many pew-owners of the Third Presbyterian meeting-house. These gentlemen were able to buy out the other stockholders of that house, and thus secure at a comparatively small expense a comfortable place of worship for the infant church, though in a very undesirable locality. God

seemed to smile on the enterprise from the first, and in 1858 sent them a season of revival, which added to the church between thirty and forty communicants. Their course, however, was far from being an entirely smooth one. They had to encounter severe trials of faith and patience, owing largely to the peculiarly unfavorable location of their meeting-house; and near the close of the year 1854, these obstacles to the greatest success of the church became so serious that the pastor was well-nigh discouraged, and began to think that he should be compelled to give up his pastorate and abandon the enterprise. But just at this crisis, those same energetic, enterprising and generous men who had initiated this movement and bought a meeting-house for the church, stepped to the front and pledged the pastor a new house in a suitable location, if he would stay with them. The pastor was only too glad to accept this proposal, which infused new life and energy into the whole body of the church and society.

A convenient chapel was immediately begun, in a central part of the city, and, when finished, the church were prepared to enter into its gates with thanksgiving and its courts with praise—a company of one hundred and forty souls—nearly double the number with which it began life in the old house, four years previously.

This movement not only infused hope and life and vigor into the whole body, but improved materially its financial condition, and prepared the

People to receive spiritual blessings from the Most High. A new religious interest was awakened among them, and there were conversions and additions to the church from time to time until the winter of 1857-58, when a revival of considerable power was experienced, which added between thirty and forty members to the church.

This church speedily outgrew its chapel accommodations, and in March, 1860, was able to dedicate a new and large house of worship, in a central locality and with ample accommodations, which it entered with a membership of two hundred and thirty-five souls—an increase in eight years of more than one hundred and fifty members.

The First Congregational Church in St. Louis—and the first permanent one in Missouri—still retains (1878-79) its first pastor;* and, though its own increase since 1860 has been very small, yet it has lived to see three other Congregational churches gathered around it in that city, with an

* *Comp. Year-Book*, 1879.

The data for this sketch of the "First Trinitarian Congregational Church of St. Louis" have come mainly from its pastor, Dr. Post, in manuscript letters and in published documents, for all which he has the author's hearty thanks. I am also indebted to him for valuable information regarding other parts of Missouri, and particularly about the Arcadian movement. The printed documents furnished by him were a sermon on *Congregationalism, and the Expediency of forming a Congregational Church in the city of St. Louis*. By T. M. Post. 1852. Octavo, 48 pages. Also, a *Historical Discourse*, delivered at the dedication of the First Trinitarian Congregational Church, St. Louis, March 6th, 1860. By Truman M. Post, D.D. 8vo, 38 pages.

aggregate membership in the four churches of more than nine hundred souls—983.

It was seven years from the time that the First Congregational Church of St. Louis was formed before another of the same order appeared in Missouri. On the 29th of November, 1859, a Congregational church was instituted in the flourishing little city of Hannibal, Marion county, about one hundred and fifty miles above St. Louis, on the Mississippi river, now a great railroad centre. This church, at its organization, consisted of twenty-four members, half of whom were men. They were obliged to send to St. Louis and to Illinois for an organizing council. Dr. Post went a hundred and fifty miles to preach the sermon on the occasion; but all the other members of the council were from Illinois.

This church, vigorous at its birth, grew steadily in numbers and efficiency, year by year, numbering forty-seven communicants in 1863; eighty the next year; ninety-one the year following; one hundred and thirty-seven in 1867; two hundred and sixteen in 1871; and two hundred and fifty-nine in 1878-79. But this does not tell the whole story about Congregationalism in that neighborhood; for, according to the report of the General Association of Missouri, in 1870, Hannibal had then become the centre of no less than sixteen Congregational churches, all of which have sprung up since 1864.

Between the years 1860-64, both included,

there were Congregational churches organized at Canton and at La Grange, both German; and at Bevier and New Cambria, Welsh; and at Kidder, half way between Hannibal and St. Joseph, towards the Missouri river. But it was not until 1865 that our New England institutions began to find much favor in Missouri. That year there was a very marked multiplication of our churches in the State; fourteen or fifteen springing into life during that single year. About the same number of new churches appeared on our minutes the year following; and the list continued to grow, though less rapidly after 1866, until 1874, when there had been formed, in all, eighty-seven Congregational churches in Missouri, four of which were Welsh churches, and four were composed of Colored people. Since that date seven new churches have been added to the list; but so many have been disbanded or been merged in other churches that the whole present number (1878-79) is but seventy-one, and their membership is three thousand three hundred and ninety-one, and the number of their ministers forty-seven.*

Congregationalism, though it has at last won

* I am indebted to the Rev. E. B. Turner, Superintendent of Home Missions in Missouri, for valuable information about the progress of Congregationalism in that State. Also, to the invaluable statistical tables of the *Congregational Quarterly*, without which the important statistical details in this history would have been given only at a cost quite appalling.

its way into Missouri, has had to fight for it. First, it had Presbyterianism to contend with; an opponent which itself had been nourishing and strengthening in the West for nearly forty years, until indeed this opponent had come to claim that it had a sort of prescriptive right to that field. Then there was that terrible foe to all free institutions—slavery—which had triumphed over nearly every other attempt to establish Congregationalism within its realm. And finally came the Civil War, waged in defence of slavery, with all its disturbing and destroying agencies; from the exasperating and ruinous effects of which it will require yet many years fully to recover. The Congregationalists, being generally Unionists, were of course objects of special dislike during the continuance of the war, and have since had to encounter much of the prejudice which lingers in the Southern heart against the North, and especially New England. But Missouri is a grand State, abounding in noble rivers, in immense and valuable forests, in fertile soil, in the richest treasures of coal and useful minerals, with iron enough above ground to furnish a million tons a year for two hundred years. All this, with its central position relative to the whole country, must make her ultimately one of the very chiefest of the American States,* if she can but gather to her

* See a brief but comprehensive sketch of Missouri as a home missionary field of great promise, by Rev. E. B. Turner, Su-

bosom a sufficiency of enterprising and hardy and intelligent men such as have peopled the non-slave-holding States on either side of her.

In point of fact, evidences of improvement and progress are already to be seen all over the State. Missouri is growing in population, in wealth, enterprise and all that gives importance to a State; while the intelligence, the standard of morals and of true religion among the people generally has been materially raised; and best of all—and a help to all—the churches have been experiencing the blessings of religious revivals.

As early as 1865, a General Association of the Congregational churches was formed, and among the earliest works of the body was a vigorous movement to provide facilities for a thorough Christian education in the State under the general auspices of these churches. A committee was raised, funds were collected, the town of Kidder, on the Hannibal and St. Joe railroad, was selected as the best location, a lot of land was given by the Kidder Land Company, and a fine, large four-story brick building, for college purposes, was erected and well finished. It had in 1878-79 the Rev. Samuel D. Cochran, D.D., president, and six teachers. This institution is in the northern part of Missouri, where it is much needed; but it has

perintendent of Congregational Home Missions in Missouri, in *The Home Missionary and Pastor's Journal*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 1-4, also XLIII, p. 60, and XLIV, p. 67-; and *Annual Report Am. Home Miss. Society for 1873*, p. 76-.

no endowment, and its usefulness is seriously affected in consequence.

Another Congregational college—or rather Christian college, under the special guardianship of the Congregational churches of Missouri—was established in 1873 in the southwestern part of the State, at Springfield, the county seat of Greene county, the business centre for southwest Missouri and northern Arkansas and the eastern portion of the Indian Territory. It derives its name from S. F. Drury, of Olivet, Michigan, the most liberal benefactor of the institution. It is designed for both sexes, and comprises a collegiate department, with five courses of four years; a preparatory department; a normal department of two years; a model school of three years; and the Missouri Conservatory of Music, chartered in 1875. It has for president the Rev. N. J. Morrison, D.D., and a corps of ten teachers, and in 1875-76 had three hundred and four students in the several departments. In 1878-79 its college department alone had fifty-eight students.

From what has now been written, it appears that Congregational churches and institutions are now established in this old slave State as they never were before in any Southern State, with every indication of permanency and prosperity. There is now no good reason why Missouri, a free and prosperous State, should not ultimately be the home of hundreds of free churches and tens of thousands of free men and women for the Northern and Eastern States.

CHAPTER V.

OHIO—FIRST SETTLEMENT AT MARIETTA AND VICINITY—THE
WESTERN RESERVE—CINCINNATI AND SOUTHWESTERN OHIO,
1787-1878.

WHAT is now the great State of Ohio was once only a small corner lot of the vast Northwestern Territory; itself only a small section of the immense territory claimed by the French, and known as "Louisiana," which stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to undefined regions in the North, embracing the entire valley of the Mississippi.

The original boundaries of Ohio were the Ohio river on the south, Canada on the north, Pennsylvania on the east, and the Mississippi river on the west. Between these boundaries it was estimated that there were two hundred and twenty million acres of land, and more than forty million acres of water.

In 1787 this vast Territory—sufficient for five large States—was erected into one District, and set apart as a free country forever by the celebrated Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio.*

* Mr. Webster said of this ordinance: "I doubt whether one single law of any Lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the

The passage of this ordinance, July 13th, 1787, probably decided the immediate movements of the first company of New England emigrants to Ohio. They left Danvers, Mass., Dec. 1st, 1787, conducted by Maj. Hasfield White. A second company left Hartford, Conn., Jan. 1st, 1788, under the leadership of Col. Ebenezer Sproat, who was joined by Gen. Rufus Putnam, on the 24th of January, on the Youghioghenny river, some miles southeast of Pittsburgh. They there built boats in which they floated down the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum river, which they reached April 7th, 1788. Here, at the southeast corner of the Territory, at the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, at a place which they named Marietta — then an unbroken wilderness — forty-eight resolute, intelligent and largely religious colonists landed, and began at once the settlement of Ohio. The only Whites in all that vicinity at that time were the occupants of Fort Harmar, on the west bank of the Muskingum, and a solitary settler, Isaac Williams, in Virginia, opposite the mouth of the Muskingum.*

Ordinance of 1787." Nathan Dane, of Beverly, Mass., framed this ordinance. But Pres. Andrews says: "For this immortal ordinance we are largely, perhaps chiefly, indebted to Dr. Cutler" — *Centennial Address* — July 4, 1876.

Dr. Cutler was the Congregational minister of Hamilton, a few miles only from Beverly, and was an active promoter of the first settlement of Ohio. He was in New York attending Congress at the time the ordinance was under consideration, from July 5th to the 13th.

* See Andrews' *Centennial Address*.

Small companies of emigrants were coming in from time to time during the whole summer; eight families arriving on the 19th of August, 1788, under the guidance of Gen. Benjamin Tupper, of Chesterfield, Mass., a distinguished Revolutionary officer. In the course of the year, fifteen families, and a total of one hundred and thirty colonists, arrived.*

This remarkable emigration was the first fruits of the celebrated "Ohio Company," composed mainly of officers of the Revolutionary armies, who had purchased of Congress nearly one million acres of land, paying partly in government script received for their military services.

The leaders of this movement were intelligent, liberal-minded men, and withal, to a considerable extent, devout Congregationalists. And among their earliest arrangements were provisions for education and the maintenance of religious worship.† One section of land was reserved for

* MS. Letter of Mr. A. F. Nye, an old resident of Marietta, in 1873.

To Mr Nye and to Pres. Andrews, of Marietta College, I am much indebted for copious notes about the early settlement of Southern Ohio.

See also *Dillon's History of Indiana*, chap. xviii; *Andrews' Centennial*.

† There were in this company such men as Gen. Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper, Samuel H. Parsons and James M. Varnum, Commodore Whipple, of Rhode Island, Dr. Manasseh Cutler, Richard Platt, of New York, Maj. Hatfield White, Coburn, Nathaniel Cushing, Nathan Goodale, Col. Ebenezer

schools; one for the support of religion; and two townships for a university. A teacher and a minister were secured for the colony as soon as their cabins were built.

The first sermon preached in Marietta was on the 20th of July, 1788, by the Rev. Daniel Breck, an army chaplain at the time, a gentleman of "high character and excellence." His text was eminently appropriate and suggestive: "Of His kingdom there shall be no end." We have preserved for us quite a graphic account of this Sabbath's services, and the mention of similar services on the Sunday following, in the journal of Col. John May, of Boston, one of the original settlers of Marietta.*

Sprout, John May and Josiah Harmer; also Paul Fearing, Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., Dudley Woodbridge and others.—*Hildreth's Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio.*

Most of these were men who had distinguished themselves in their country's service, and several of them were men of liberal education.—*Dillon's Hist. Indiana*, 255-57, *Andrews' Centennial.*

Dr. Thaddeus Harris gives a pretty full account of this distinguished Emigration Company in his *Journal of a Tour into the Northwest Territory* in 1803. Boston 1805. 8vo, 271 pages, with Maps.

* Under date of Marietta, Sunday, July 20th, 1788, Col. May writes: "At eleven o'clock to-day a religious service. Mr Daniel Breck began the observances by singing, praying and preaching. The place of worship was our bowery [an arbor prepared for their 4th of July celebration, in which they laid a table sixty feet long—p. 78] on the bank directly over my ship [boat in which he came from Pittsburgh, and in which he lived until he could build a house]. A large number of people were

After this, Dr. Cutler, who visited Marietta in August, 1788, preached to the people until autumn; and then, Gen. Tupper, who had been a deacon in the Congregational church of Chesterfield, Mass., by common consent became the leader of the religious meetings of the colonists, until the arrival of their minister, Rev. Daniel Story, in the spring of 1789.*

Mr. Story was born in Boston in 1755, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1780. He was an uncle of the great jurist, Justice Story, of the United States Supreme Court.

On reaching his field of labor, this good man began at once his active, toilsome and useful ministry, which was not confined to Marietta, but extended to all the scattered settlers on the Ohio Company's land. This mission service he contin-

assembled from the garrison, Virginia, and our own settlement — in all about three hundred; some women and children, which was a pleasing, though something unusual sight for us to see. Mr. Breck made out pretty well. The singing excellent. We had 'Billings' to perfection. Gov. St. Clair was much pleased with the whole exercise."

"Sunday, 27th. Preaching again, by Mr. Breck."

Journal and Letters, pp. 87 and 90. Cincinnati, 1873. 8vo, 160 pp.

* *M.S. Letters; Allen's Biog. Dic.*, art. Story. "The first sermon in the Territory was preached Sunday, July 10th, 1788, in the hall of the northwest block-house in Campus Martius, by Rev. William Breck." — *Centennial*, p. 30. But was not July 10th, 1788, Thursday instead of Sunday! July, that year, came in on Tuesday, if I mistake not, and if so, then the 6th, 13th, 20th and 27th were Sundays.

ued until the Indian War broke out, in 1791. After that, until 1795, he was compelled to confine his labors to Marietta, it being unsafe to venture beyond the protection of its forts.

At or about the time of Mr. Story's arrival in Ohio, settlements had been started at Belpre, fifteen miles from Marietta, and at Waterford, twenty miles distant, and at Vienna; and, by arrangement with the Ohio Company, he preached at each of these settlements; travelling to and fro generally by means of log canoes, as more safe than the paths through the woods. He visited the settlements in rotation, and preached under the trees or in the block-houses, as circumstances suggested.

It was during the early part of the terrible Indian War which distressed and desolated the whole Western country, that a Sabbath school was formed among the occupants of the fort at Marietta. This school was organized in 1791, and must, therefore, have been one of the very earliest Sabbath schools in this country.

But, though provided with an active and excellent minister, the disturbed state of the country almost from the beginning of this settlement prevented the formal organization of a Christian church until December 6th, 1796, when a Congregational church was organized — the first, by some three years, that was formed in all that great Western Territory. It was a large and strong church from the start, consisting of twenty-

five or more members, nine of whom had been Revolutionary officers of more or less distinction. It was gathered from Marietta, Belpre, Waterford, and Vienna, Va.; each settlement having a deacon of its own.*

The creed of this church was very brief and comprehensive. It included a belief in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; in the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments as a perfect, infallible rule of faith and practice, and in "the several doctrines therein contained." The covenant was a solemn engagement of the members "to walk by the aids of Divine Grace, in all the commands and ordinances of the Lord, blameless, as becometh the Gospel." †

The church, being organized, immediately called Mr. Story to be their pastor, having made full trial of him during the years of his ministry among them. He accepted the call, and was ordained at Hamilton, Mass., August 15th, 1798. The ordaining council was large and eminently respectable, the occasion being one of great interest to the New England churches. The sermon was preached by Mr. Story's brother, the Rev. Isaac Story, of Marblehead; the right hand of fellowship was given by Dr. Wadsworth, of Dan-

* *MS. Letters* from Mr. Nye and Pres. Andrews say that twenty-five male members were first organized as a church, and that fifteen females were admitted shortly after on "vouchers."

† *Semi-Centennial Discourse.* By Thomas Wickes, Pastor of the Congregational Church, Marietta, Ohio, Dec. 6th, 1840.

vers ; and the charge by Dr. Cutler, of Hamilton, the early and devoted friend of this Christian enterprise. In his charge, the Doctor said to Mr. Story: "You have the honor to be the first regularly ordained and settled minister of the Congregational denomination in that extensive country westward of the Alleghany mountains." *

In 1797 an academy building was erected at Marietta, and so arranged as to answer for a meeting-house; and as such was used until 1809.

Mr. Story remained pastor of this church until March 15th, 1804, when, his health failing him, he was dismissed, at his own request, and soon after died at Marietta, worn out by the labors and exposures of his frontier ministry. He is reported to have been "a good preacher; in prayer greatly gifted, and in conversation cheerful and animated." †

Mr. Story was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel P. Robbins, a most excellent and useful minister, who remained in office until his death, in August, 1823, at the age of forty-five years. He graduated at Harvard in 1798, studied theology with Dr.

* *The Sermon, Charge and Right Hand, with the Minutes of the Council*, were published in a very neat 8vo pamphlet, by Thomas C. Cushing, of Salem, 1798. A note in this pamphlet describes some of the vestiges of ancient Indian works in the neighborhood of Marietta. The Marietta church observed the day of the ordination with special religious services. The father of Justice Joseph Story was a delegate to this council, from Marblehead.

† *Allen's Biog. Dic.*

Hyde, of Lee, Mass., and married a granddaughter of Gen. Rufus Putnam, of Marietta.

In 1820 the settlement enjoyed a powerful revival of religion, which introduced fifty persons to the church, and changed the whole face of society in the settlement.

Since the first, in 1820, repeated revivals of religion have blessed that community and added many to the church, until the aggregate membership in 1847 amounted to eight hundred and forty souls, of whom about three hundred were active members at that date. And thirty years later, in 1879—ninety-one years after the first sermon was preached in Marietta—the old church was still living and flourishing, with a membership of three hundred and seventy-eight souls; while the second Congregational church, by its side, had seventy members; Belpre Congregational church had two hundred and twenty-one members; and that formed in Harmar had two hundred and thirty-three members; making in all nine hundred and two Congregational church members, on the same ground from which the first church in Ohio gathered its first twenty-five members—more than thirty-fold increase.

Into this distant New England settlement, all the favorite institutions, organizations and observances of the mother country found their way. In addition to the regular Sunday services, the weekly prayer-meeting was early instituted, and so were female prayer-meetings; the Sunday

school, a library association, an academy, and finally, a college—all found places in this new settlement of Puritans in the northwest.

Besides the Marietta company, other colonists soon found their way into this attractive country; though it was not until the Indian Wars were closed in 1795, and the Indian claims had been bought up, that the great rush of emigrants westward fairly began, carrying ten or twelve or even twenty thousand a year into that vast and fertile territory. In 1796 the estimated population of this entire Northwest Territory was only fifteen thousand souls; but in 1803 the population of Ohio alone was estimated at seventy-six thousand souls.*

* *Harris' Tour; Walker's Hist. Athens County, O.*, p. 134.

The emigration westward, down the Ohio, was very considerable even as early as 1788. Col May, in his *Journal*, under date of Pittsburg, May 11th, 1788, says: "Four Kentuck boats have gone down to day. Surprising, the number of these boats which have passed the place this spring! Two hundred are taken account of, and many go down in the night. We allow, at the least computation, twenty souls to a boat, and a great number of bodies without souls."—*Journal*, p. 44.

Josiah Eddy—*Tour in Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana Territory* in 1805—says (p. 23): "From my personal observation, compared with the opinions of some gentlemen I have consulted, I have good reason to conclude that, during the present year, from twenty to thirty thousand souls have entered the State [of Ohio] for the purpose of making it their future residence." They were chiefly, he says, from Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey, Maryland, Kentucky and Tennessee, though there were some from every State, and many foreigners.

This emigration mania pervaded New England for many

The Whitewater Congregational Church, at Paddy's Run, fifteen or twenty miles northwest of Cincinnati, stands next in age to Marietta, after Austinburg,* in the northern part of Ohio. Its

years. Persons of every sort were touched by it; and many persons made sad failures by leaving their comfortable homes here for a frontier life, for which they had not the first qualification. Some of the caricatures of that period were quite amusing and very suggestive withal. One represented Ohio as a fat pig, nicely roasted, running about with knife and fork thrust into his sides, crying, "Come and eat me! Come and eat me!"

Another pictured an emigrant starting for Ohio, on a prancing horse full of life and action; and another, this same emigrant returning to New England, disappointed, impoverished, ragged and wretched, riding the skeleton of the horse on which he left his Eastern home so proudly.

The journey to Ohio, which the young men and women were disposed to regard as a fine long frolic, proved to be a somewhat serious affair. It was, in most cases, made in ox wagons, in which were all their worldly goods and chattels, and it required from twenty two to fifty days of incessant travelling, much of the way over roads which would now be deemed impassable. It was frequently necessary to man the ropes attached to the wagons, and hold hard to keep them from overturning; and the utmost care did not always avert this dire calamity. And then, on their arrival in "pleasant Ohio," the boys found an unbroken forest in which to make their homes.

*I am indebted for all that I know about this interesting ancient Welsh settlement and church, to the courtesy of the Rev John L. Davies, the present pastor of the church, who has not only answered by letter my many inquiries, but has sent to me the *Manual of the Congregational Church of Whitewater, Morgan Township, Butler Co., Ohio*; *A Historical Sketch of Paddy's Run, Butler Co., O.*, by Rev B W. Chidlaw; and the *Local History of New London Special School, Butler Co., Ohio*.

origin and history are deeply interesting and instructive.

In the summer of 1795, the ship "Maria," of Salem, Mass., landed in Philadelphia a choice company of Welsh immigrants. Among them were miners, iron-makers, founders and excellent mechanics, and some skilled workmen. And over and above all, many of them, if not most of them, were evangelical Christians. Some of the company found employment in and around Philadelphia; others made their way to the centre of the State, among the coal and iron veins of Cambria county, and laid the foundations of the flourishing town of Ebensburg, where was planted, in 1796, a Congregational church, now the oldest of our denomination in Pennsylvania, and one of the largest, having in 1877 two hundred and thirty communicants; while two sister churches, by its side, had more than a hundred additional members.

Still others of these Welsh immigrants pushed their way yet further west, to Redstone, near the centre of Fayette county, on or near the Monongahela river, in the neighborhood of the rich deposits of bituminous coal, which have made that county famous for its manufactures of iron and glass and cotton, etc. From this point these energetic, enterprising Welshmen easily floated down the Monongahela into the Ohio, and to Cincinnati, about a hundred miles from Redstone. In this way Ezekiel Hughes and Edward Bebb, originally from Llaubryn-mair, North Wales,

Reached Cincinnati sometime in 1796. From this point they travelled into the new country beyond the Miami river, which had not then been surveyed. After exploring the rich and beautiful valley of the Miami, they squatted on Blue Rock Creek, on the eastern side of the Miami, and waited for the new lands to be brought into market. Here they were joined, in 1798, by Morgan Gwilym, and William Gwilym and his wife, from Redstone, who squatted by their side on Blue Rock creek. The Gwilyms were iron-makers, and while at Redstone helped to make the first iron ever manufactured west of the Alleghany mountains.

When the Miami lands were offered for sale, in 1801, Hughes bought two sections in Whitewater township, Hamilton county; and Bebb bought half a section on the Dry Fork, Morgan township, Butler county, a little further north. Having secured his land, he then turned his face towards Ebensburg, Penn., where he was married, and then returned with his young bride to help found a Christian settlement in the wilderness of the Miami valley. The first white child born in the township was their son, William Bebb, afterwards governor of Ohio.

William Gwilym settled on Paddy's Run, Morgan township,* Butler county. Andrew Scott

* "Paddy's Run" was originally known as "Three Mile Run," indicating the length of the stream. During the expedition of Gen. Anthony Wayne against the Indians in the Northwest Ter-

and wife, John Vaughn, and David Francis and wife, James Nicholas and wife, Maurice Jones and wife, and the Parkinson family — three brothers — all settled at Paddy's Run and Dry Fork; and half a dozen other families followed during the years 1803-04. Others came into the settlement subsequently, until the close of the war, in 1815.

In 1818 there were large accessions to the population and the resources of this Welsh settlement, and between 1820 and 1830 still further accessions, chiefly from North Wales.

The pioneer families of this settlement were distinguished for their industry, energy, intelligence, general morality, and even strict piety; and have left a posterity which does honor to the fair name of their ancestors.

A people such as have now been described, would of course welcome a Christian minister, and as soon as possible have the institutions of religion established among them. Accordingly, as early as 1802 the Rev. John W. Browne, au

ritory, in the year 1794, his supplies were boated up the Miami river in flat boats, called "scoops." One of these boats having grounded at the mouth of Three Mile Run, an Irishman belonging to the company was ordered into the water, with others, to push it off; in doing which he came near being drowned. So the boatmen christened the creek "Paddy's Run," and gave a ridiculous name to the entire neighborhood, which has "nothing Paddyish either in its origin, its character, or ought else." — *Manuscript Letter from the Rev. John L. Davies, dated November 6, 1878.*

English Congregationalist from Cincinnati, was preaching in their cabins, and with so much effect that on the 8d of September, 1803, a Congregational church of five members — Benjamin McCarty, Asa Kitchel, Joab Comstock, Andrew Scott and Margaret Bebb — was organized in the cabin of John Templeton, on Dry Fork. To these names were soon added those of Ezekiel Hughes and wife, and William Gwilym and wife, from the Congregational church in Llaubrynmair, North Wales, and David and Mary Francis. These men and women were of different nationalities and different religious persuasions, but so truly Christian and liberal in their views, and so desirous of promoting the highest interests of the community, that they could meet "on the broad basis of Christian love," and agree upon a constitution, confession of faith, and rules of practice and discipline, which were so Scriptural and evangelical and satisfactory, that from 1803 to 1878 there had never been but one attempt — and that an unsuccessful one — to form another evangelical church in that community.*

In answer to the inquiry, how the church at Paddy's Run could maintain its distinctive character against the opposing influences of the West, the pastor writes: "It will be easily seen from the history of the church and community how this

* *Church Manual; Historical Sketch; and the pastor's M.S. Letter.*

society maintained its Congregationalism in this Presbyterian region. The early founders — the earnest Welshmen of North Wales and the steady New Englanders — were men who cared more for principle than expediency. They were Congregationalists from principle and conviction. . . . But while they firmly held to their distinctive principles and polity, they exercised such a broad charity that any one who came to the neighborhood and desired Christian fellowship, found in this church and society a congenial home. . . . Thus, owing to the firm loyalty of the older men to their Congregational principles, and their broad charity in holding and defending them, they have kept the church vigorous and strong, and have drawn into it, and concentrated there, the whole religious life and sentiment of the community." *

The first pastor of this church was the first preacher in the settlement, the Rev. John W. Browne, who was ordained pastor of the infant church in March, 1804, in the house of John Bennefield, in Crosby township, Hamilton county. Joub Comstock and Asa Kitchel were set apart at the same time as deacons. The ordination of the pastor, at least, was by a committee chosen by the church for the purpose.

The church grew and prospered until 1810 or 1811, when their excellent pastor lost his life in attempting to cross the Miami river, in order to

* *MS. Letter.*

meet some ministerial appointment.* From about 1810 to 1817, there seems to have been a declension in the church. They had no pastor and no meeting-house. "But those that waited for the consolation of Israel failed not. Their hopes were centred in a covenant-keeping God, and they were not forsaken." †

In 1817 the Rev. Rees Lloyd, of Ebenaburg, Penn., a fellow-passenger in the "Maria" of some of the elders of this church, visited Paddy's Run, at the request of the church, and became its pastor in December of that year. He preached in Welsh and English, had large congregations, "and many turned to the Lord."

Under a succession of pastors, the church at Paddy's Run has continued to live and prosper to the present time, when "it has a membership of one hundred and fifty-five, holds two regular services on the Sabbath, and the Sabbath school, and a weekly prayer-meeting. It pays a salary of \$1,000 to the pastor, and is ever ready to aid any benevolent enterprise that presents its claims." † Certainly a most creditable and honorable record.

It might reasonably be expected that such a community as occupied Paddy's Run would give early and effective attention to education; and when we learn that from this small settlement

* *Chilaw's Historical Sketch of Paddy's Run.* Mr. C. was the pastor of this church for seven years, from 1836 to 1843.

* General.

MS. Letter from Rev. J. L. Davis.

have gone out at least four ministers of the gospel and two foreign missionaries, one theological professor, several distinguished educators, besides lawyers, physicians, engineers and journalists, and two governors of States, we find our anticipations fully realized.

The first school was opened in 1807, and Miss Polly Wiley received seventy-five cents a week for her salary, and was "boarded around." In 1809 a subscription school of a somewhat higher order was opened, at \$1.50 per scholar for three months; and in 1810 the people built a log-cabin school-house, in which the children were taught to spell, and to read from the New Testament, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *The American Preceptor*, while arithmetic was studied as far as "Rule of Three." These schools, after the New England plan, were kept for three or four months every year. In 1819 a higher grade of school was introduced, and two years later a high school and boarding school was established, and a great impetus was given to the work of education in the settlement, and indeed in all the neighborhood. A Union Library Association also was formed and chartered, and soon nearly every family in the settlement was found reading such books as *Plutarch's Lives*, *Rollin's Ancient History*, *Josephus*, *Mungo Park's Travels*, *Lewis & Clark's Travels to the Pacific Ocean*, *Campbell on Miracles*, *Paley's Evidences of Christianity*, and *Butler's Analogy*.

One may make a shrewd guess as to the intel-

lectual character of a people of whom it can be said: "By examining the librarian's record, we find that these books were drawn out and read by almost every citizen of the two townships;" and he will be prepared to believe that "thus the intelligence of the people was greatly increased, and a desire for improvement was awakened in both old and young;" which has culminated in making the "Special School of Butler county" one of the very best in the entire State of Ohio.

As early as 1819, five years before the American Sunday School Union was formed, the church at Paddy's Run had its Sabbath school, and it still has it.

The history of this church has been given with this comparative fulness, not simply because of its intrinsic interest, nor for its supposed preëminence over other churches; nor even because it happens to be one of the three oldest Congregational churches in Ohio—but chiefly because it was originally largely Welsh, and is one of the three oldest Welsh Congregational churches in the United States. *Ab uno, disce omnes.* From this one you may learn, at least, the general characteristics of the whole eighty or more Welsh Congregational churches in this country.

The town of Granville, in the centre of Licking county, Ohio—very nearly the exact geographical centre of the State—has an interesting and instructive history of its own; and, what is

still better, has found a faithful and capable historian.* Granville was first settled in the year 1805, by a company of emigrants from Granville, Mass., and the adjoining town, Granby, Ct. It was from the start a thoroughly religious enterprise, though there was a good deal of romance and enthusiasm mingled with the religious elements.

A land company was first formed early in 1804, known as the Scioto Land Company. Agents were then despatched to Ohio, and about twenty-eight thousand acres of fine, rich, well-wooded and beautifully variegated land were selected and purchased in the very centre of the State; and, to expedite the settlement of these lands, the company offered to take in exchange, at a fair appraisal, any Granville farm, and allow its owner a quantity of Ohio land of equal value; so that

*The Rev. Jacob Little, for nearly forty years pastor of the Granville church, wrote, in 1843-46, a minute history of this ancient Western church and settlement, from the organization of the company in Granville, Mass., in 1805, to the date of his history, July 29th, 1846. It was published in fifty-nine numbers in the *Ohio Observer*. I know not that it has ever been published in book form. For an opportunity to examine this history I am indebted to the venerable author, who was alive in 1874, and in the enjoyment of vigorous old age. He had the kindness to send this history, preserved in his scrap-book, all the way from Indiana, where he then lived, to Boston. If all the early Puritan settlements and churches of Ohio had found chroniclers like Mr. Little, it would be a comparatively easy task to write the history of Ohio.—Mr. Little has died since the above note was written.

farmers who wished to join the Granville colonists and emigrate West had their way westward made easy. A very considerable number of substantial Granville and Granby farmers were thus induced to become Western land-owners; and a large proportion of them were religious men, young and enterprising. On the 29th of May, 1805, a Congregational church of twenty-four members was formed at Granville, embracing, as their old pastor said, "the strength and beauty" of his church and parish—an irreparable loss to Granville, Mass., but an invaluable gain to Granville, Ohio.* This church adopted a thoroughly Orthodox and Calvinistic confession of faith, a brief, comprehensive covenant, and carefully-drawn articles and rules of practice and discipline. They then chose Timothy Rose and Levi Hayes for deacons, and Samuel Everet for clerk. They even proposed to take their old pastor, Dr. Cooley, along with them; but this was a little more than the old church could allow.†

Twelve men had been sent forward early in the spring of 1805 to plant corn, build mills and prepare the way for the colonists, who were ready to start westward during the summer and early autumn.‡

* Rev. Dr. Cooley's Historical Discourse in *The Granville* [Mass.] Jubilee, August 27-28th, 1846.

† Little's *History of Granville, Ohio*, No. 6; *Granville Jubilee*.

‡ A company of twenty persons arrived out on the 6th of July, after forty-six days' travelling.

The company on starting numbered one hundred and seventy-six persons, of whom fifty-two were heads of families.* They went in parties of a dozen or more, twenty-five, thirty-five, or twice that number, and were on the road, generally, from forty to fifty days, enduring incessant hardships, which, for the most part, were borne with cheerfulness and were lightened by music and song. But their journey's end was not the end of their toils. Arriving in November and December, many of them had their cabins to build and their homes to prepare before winter: a wearisome work indeed. They had also to encounter much sickness, the result of their exposures and hardships.† It forcibly illustrates the character of these Granville colonists, that, on the arrival, at nightfall, of the first large company, of sixty-nine persons, on Wednesday, November 12th, they were ready to attend public worship as soon as their oxen could be unyoked. For nine days and nights this company were unsheltered; yet on the first Sunday after their arrival they established public worship around the stump of the first tree which was cut on the town plot; and here, though

* On the 16th of January, 1806, there had arrived at Granville, Ohio, two hundred and thirty four persons — *Little*, 20.

† The first company found but three cabins built. On the 12th of November, when the third company arrived, there were more than one hundred persons in Granville, and their only shelter was these three cabins and their travelling wagons. That night there were eleven beds made up in one cabin. — *Little*.

they had no preacher — the one who preached to them on Wednesday evening being a travelling Presbyterian, the Rev. Cyrus Riggs, who had turned aside from his journey on hearing that a large body of emigrants had just arrived from the East — here, in the open winter air, these godly colonists gathered on the Lord's Day, to the number of ninety-three, to hear sermons read and prayers offered by the more gifted members of the little church. But in their first attempts to sing the Lord's songs in a strange land, the congregation nearly broke down with emotion, so strangely sounded their voices, echoing through the dense forest and reverberating from the surrounding hills. Before the next Sabbath, however, Deacon Timothy Rose had a log-cabin up; and this became the meeting-house for the colony, until they could get time to roll up the logs for a school-house and place of worship, which was shortly done. In this school-house the reading meetings were kept up for two and a half years, or until a pastor was obtained; a favor earnestly desired and anxiously sought. In the meantime they were visited by the Rev. S. P. Robbins, the pastor of the Congregational church at Marietta, who administered the Lord's Supper for the first time to this church in the wilderness, married the first couple, baptized the first child of the colony, and, in general, took a fatherly care of the lonely church and people; making no less than four journeys of a hundred miles through the wilder-

ness, to minister to their wants while destitute of a pastor.

As rapidly as possible, the colonists gathered around them the varied institutions of New England: a public school, an academy, a town library, a Sunday school, a temperance society, a Bible society, a female charitable society, a missionary association, etc., etc. Among the early votes of the company was one by which a lot of land was set apart for the support of the gospel; another, for the support of a school. A good library, secular and religious, was brought out in November, 1806, and a burial lot laid out.*

At length, on the 24th of April, 1808, the Rev. Timothy Harris, a licentiate from Vermont, came among the people at the special solicitation of Mr. Robbins, and, after preaching several times, received a unanimous call to become their pastor; and on the 13th of December, 1808, was ordained the first pastor of the Congregational church in Granville, Ohio. A revival of religion which seems to have begun before Mr. Harris arrived, received new impetus from his faithful labors, and in the course of seven or eight months forty-seven persons were added to the church; making the whole number of members seventy. Mr. Harris was the fourth Congregational minister settled in Ohio, south of the Reserve; Mr. Potter, of Steubenville, and Mr. Story and Mr. Robbins, of Marietta, preceding him.

* *Little's Hist.*, Nos. 13-23.

At the ordination of Mr. Harris, the plan of forming the Muskingum Congregational Association was started; and on February 13th, 1809, two delegates were sent from Granville to Springfield (Putnam) to assist in forming this association. It continued until the death of Mr. Potter, seven years.*

The log-house built in 1806 was used for a meeting-house and school-house for four years. In 1810 a frame-building, thirty-two by twenty-four feet on the floor, and nine feet stud, superseded the old log-cabin; and in six years, in 1816, was, in its turn, superseded by a regular meeting-house, of good proportions. This, when completed with porch and steeple and bell, and finally supplied with galleries and pews, and enclosed stoves in the basement, was the wonder and admiration of the whole community around.†

The church continued to increase and the settlement to prosper during Mr. Harris' entire ministry, down to the time of his death in 1822, and its influence for good continued to be felt all through central Ohio.‡

* *Little's Hist. Granville*, Nos. 16-17.

† Mr. Little tells us that full-grown men came into town who could not tell what the strange, great house was. A green youth from the country, on inquiring what it was, received for answer from a wag that it was a mill. But the stranger, seeing the house standing high and dry, asked, "What sort of a mill? What they ground in it?" and was answered "Sinners!"

‡ In 1816 the church numbered seventy-seven; in 1817, it had

On the 2d of July, 1822, the Rev. Ahab Jinks, who had been a Connecticut Separatist, and afterwards received Presbyterian ordination, was installed pastor of the Granville church, by the Presbytery of Lancaster, Penn. In the course of a few years this indiscreet man succeeded in breaking the church into four parties, two of them Presbyterian and one Congregational, while he himself, with a few personal friends, went off to form an Episcopal parish. Thus was the most flourishing and promising church in central Ohio brought to sudden desolation by the imprudence and bad tempers and ill management of professedly Christian men, incited by an injudicious minister. In 1822 no church in Ohio, perhaps, was so flourishing and so popular with everybody as this. In 1827 it was distracted into parties, had dwindled in numbers, and was despised by everybody. Hasty admissions to the church in 1822, under Mr. Jinks' ministry, had much to do in bringing about this sad decline.*

There was, notwithstanding all, a remnant in Granville who were worthy of their ancestry; and the low condition into which these quarrels had brought the church humbled these good men, and prepared them to confess one to another and

eighty-eight members, in 1818, it had ninety-five members, and in 1819, it had one hundred and twenty-two.

In 1847 the Confession of Faith of the Granville church was the creed of not less than six other churches in that county.

* *Little's History of Granville*, No. 40.

to pray one for another. And this led to a re-organization of "The Congregational Church of Granville," with an appeal to the Presbytery in cases of difficulty. This reformation was doubtless due in no inconsiderable degree to the labors of the Rev. Jacob Little, of Boscowen, N. H., a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1822.

Mr. Little had been preaching at Granville some time before his permanent engagement with the people in 1827. From the time of his ordination, in June of that year, he lived and labored among them for thirty-seven and a half years, or until November, 1864, and had the satisfaction of seeing the church revived and built up, and flourishing as of old. The starting point of this new order of things was doubtless the great revival which visited the people in 1828, and added eighty-four persons to the Granville church. This was followed by another revival in 1831, which brought one hundred and sixteen into the church. Between 1828 and 1842 the church was favored with seven seasons of special religious interest, which added to the membership four hundred and six persons.*

But this venerable and remarkable church, like hundreds of others which were planted by our Congregational fathers in the West, has ceased to be numbered among the churches of our denomination, and its revered name is now

* *Little's History of Granville, No. 50.*

found in the long list which adorns the minutes of the Presbyterian church of the United States. This act was consummated August 13, 1870, for the sake of company, it would seem, rather than from any very deep conviction of duty, or any special preference for the Presbyterian church polity.*

Early in this century—all before 1809—churches were organized also in Vernon, in Clinton, in Springfield (now Putnam), and in Waterford and Steubenville; all, except the last-named, being in southern or central Ohio. In February, 1809, these churches, with the Marietta church, or at least their pastors, organized a Congregational Conference or Association.† Whether or not these churches were all distinctly Congregational at their organization, it is difficult now to determine; some of them may have been constructed on the accommodating plan which favored their gradual absorption by Presbyterianism. This certainly has been the portion of all but the Marietta church.‡

* In reply to my inquiry, "Why did the Granville church become Presbyterian?" the Rev. Mr. Little says: "The amount of the answer of the clerk [of the Granville church, to whom he had applied for information] was, that they were alone." The vote was a pretty decisive one, however—sixty-three yeas to eleven nays—*MS. Letter*, August 31, 1874.

† Congregationalism in Ohio. By Rev. J. C. Hart, in *Congregationalist Quarterly*, July, 1863.

‡ Pres. Andrews, of Marietta College, says: "Early in the

The church in Springfield was organized as a Congregational church in the year 1807, by the Rev. Mr. Potter, pastor of the Congregational church in Steubenville, and was the first in the county. It originally consisted of five members: Col. Benjamin Tupper and wife, Dr. Increase Mathews and wife, and Mr. Levi Whipple. Capt. Daniel Warner and Mrs. Monroe joined the church in the course of the first year. For some time this little congregation met in barns during the summer, and in private houses in the winter, for weekly worship, until a small frame building was erected for public purposes, and used as a meeting-house. The church was very small, and either unable to support a settled minister of their own faith, or else unable to get one; and so, probably, becoming discouraged, decided to unite with the good people on the opposite side of the river, and form the church of Zanesville and Springfield, and thus lay the foundations of an efficient, prosperous Presbyterian church.*

There appears to have been a Congregational church early formed at McConnellsville, on the

century a Presbyterian church was formed at Waterford, which afterwards became a Cumberland Presbyterian church. There was a Congregational church formed at Springfield, now Putnam, or rather Zanesville; but many years ago it was merged into the Presbyterian church at Zanesville. . . . The church at Granville has been under Presbyterian pastors for many years, and in 1870 it became Presbyterian." — *MS. Letter.*

* *Rev. A. Amshury's Memorial Sermon*, preached in the Presbyterian church in Putnam, Ohio, Jan. 1st, 1860.

Muskingum river, some five-and-twenty miles above Waterford, a prosperous place; but the church is now extinct.

Congregational churches were also formed at an early date at St. Albans, Hartford, Burlington, Bennington and McKean, all in Licking county, the geographical centre of the State. These, with others already mentioned, were all reckoned among the Congregational sisterhood as lately as 1839—I know not how much later; but, with the exception of the church at Hartford, they have all now (1878) ceased to be, or have passed into other ecclesiastical connections.* Yet, though several Congregational churches in southeastern Ohio have ceased to be, or have passed into the hands of the General Assembly, others have risen up to supply their places; and within the circle around Marietta, including Washington county as it now is, and two or three towns just beyond its boundaries, where, in 1807, there were only three Congregational churches, there were in 1879 more than four times that number—fourteen. A church has

*On October 25, 1889, Mr. Little wrote me from Granville, Ohio: "The oldest church in this State is Marietta. It is still Congregational. Others were formed in the following order: Belpre, Putnam, Granville, St. Albans, Hartford, Burlington, Bennington and McKean. Putnam has become Presbyterian, and Hartford has become connected with an association which sympathizes with Oberlin. All the others remain on their original foundation." Hartford is now (1878) on our denominational list.

also sprung into vigorous and promising life at Ironton, on the Ohio river, about half way between Marietta and Cincinnati; another, at Huntington, West Virginia, at the terminus of the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad;* and the present status and prospects of Congregationalism in all that immediate neighborhood, originally settled by a superior class of New England Congregationalists, we are assured, on the best authority, are most favorable and encouraging, the good cause having made decided progress within a few years.†

It is illustrative of the character of the earliest settlers of Ohio, that careful provision was made from the first for the education of the people. Common schools were taught in Marietta from the very first year of its settlement, and were kept up even during the Indian War; the block-house being used a part of the time as a school-house as well as a meeting-house. An academy, as we have seen, was early established, which developed into a first-class college, with an able body of professors. And even this was not all. At the suggestion of one of the chief patrons of this enterprise, the Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, Congress set apart two complete townships in the section of land purchased by the Ohio company, for the perpetual uses of a State University;

* *M.S. Letters from Pres. Andrews and Mr. Nye.*

† *Pres. Andrews.*

and this noble grant laid the foundation of the Ohio University. It was the first college endowment by Congress in the Northwestern Territory, and served as a precedent for similar grants for Indiana, Illinois and Michigan; and not these States only, but for Alabama, Mississippi, and other new States.*

The establishment of town libraries was another New England notion which the first settlers of Ohio carried into the Western wilderness. The money to buy their libraries was not provided by the company, nor was it the gift of generous individuals; but it was gathered from persons who had little to spare, and in many instances from men whose only way to raise money was to hunt wild animals and sell their skins.†

THE WESTERN RESERVE.

Thus far our attention has been occupied with the settlement of southeastern and central Ohio. But there was also an early settlement of the northeastern part of this territory, in which Congregationalists were deeply concerned from the very first.

On the 4th of July, 1796, a company of surveyors and settlers arrived at the mouth of Conneaut creek, on Lake Erie, the extreme north-

* See an interesting account of Ohio University in *Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio*, chap. vii, pp. 300-350.

† *Walker's History*, chap. ix.

eastern boundary of the Northwestern Territory. These men were sent out by the "New England Association," a land company which had just purchased a strip of land one hundred and twenty miles along the southern shore of Lake Erie, and fifty miles wide, measuring from the northwestern line of Pennsylvania, near the confluence of the Mahoning and Ohio rivers. This they called "New Connecticut," or the "Western Reserve."

This first party numbered fifty-two persons, including two women — Mrs. Stiles and Mrs. Gunn — and one child. Judge James Kingsbury and family followed immediately, and settled for awhile at Conneaut. The two families of Elijah Gunn and Job B. Stiles went on to Cleveland, which was surveyed and laid out in the autumn of 1796, and named for Gen. Moses Cleveland, general agent of the Land Company. Mr. Stiles and family and Mr. Edward Paine were the only persons who wintered in Cleveland in 1796-97.*

About the same time some immigrants from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, settled at Youngstown, near the extreme southeastern corner of the Reserve. From these two starting-points on the borders of this new territory, small settlements rapidly spread themselves in every direction; the

* *Historical Collections of Ohio*, by Henry Howe, 27-39 and 120 pages. Cincinnati, 1809. 8vo. 590 pp. See also *Plan of Union*, or *History of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of the Western Reserve*.

New Englanders being drawn naturally toward the lake shore, and the Pennsylvanians and Virginians as naturally toward the more southerly parts of the Territory. This work proceeded so rapidly that in four years from 1796, with all the disadvantages under which emigration was then carried on, not less than eleven hundred and forty-four souls had found their way into the Western Reserve; and it was erected into a county — Trumbull — and a representative was chosen to the Territorial legislature. In 1806 the number of towns or settlements had increased to about seventy, and the number of inhabitants to about ten thousand.*

The first church on the Reserve was formed at Youngstown, in 1799, by the Rev. William Wick, a Presbyterian minister, who was the first or second minister to enter these new settlements.†

Old Connecticut was not unmindful of her namesake in the "far West," as the Territory was then regarded; and early in November, 1800, sent

* Report of Rev. Thomas Robbins, who had spent two years in New Connecticut, to the Conn. Miss. Soc. — *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, vii, 283-84.

† Kennedy's *History of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of the Western Reserve*, pp. 14, 128. Mr. Kennedy says Wick was "the first minister who came to the Reserve, so far as now [in 1856] appears;" but Rev. Ansel R. Clark, in his valuable historical and biographical notes to his complete list of Presbyterian and Congregational churches in the Western Reserve, in the above work, says, "Mr. Wick was the second minister who came to the Reserve, but the first who was installed there."

a missionary, the Rev. Joseph Badger, to the Reserve; and in 1801 a second missionary, the Rev. Ezekiel Chapman; and from that time continued to send its missionaries—two, three or four at a time—for successive years.

Mr. Badger entered his field of labor early in November, 1800, and remained fourteen months, during which time he went over the whole Reserve, visiting every settlement. After returning to Connecticut for a few weeks, he went back again to Ohio.*

The second church organized on the Reserve was at Austinburg, almost at the northern extremity of the Territory. This was done by Mr. Badger on the 24th of October, 1801. The church consisted of ten male members and six female. This church was Congregational, while that at Youngstown was Presbyterian; and these two were the only churches in New Connecticut prior to 1802.† About September, 1802, Mr. Badger organized another Congregational church, of thirteen members, at Hudson, near the geographical centre of the Reserve; and in the winter of the same year a Presbyterian church

* *N. Y. Misc. Magazine*, ii, 332; iii, 243-44, 454, 464.

† *History of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of the Western Reserve*, by William A. Kennedy, pp. 18-20. Prof. Howe calls the church at Austinburg "the first church on the Western Reserve," and says that Mr. Badger was "the first missionary on the Reserve."—*History of Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, pp. 45 and 482.

was organized at Poland, the southeastern corner town of the Reserve. In November, 1801, the Rev. E. J. Chapman was sent to Ohio by the Connecticut Missionary Society, and continued to labor there until the spring of 1803.* In the autumn of that year his place was supplied by Rev. Thomas Robbins, of Connecticut, who joined Mr. Badger in his laborious work among these new settlements. During the year 1803 churches were organized at Warren and at Vernon, the former Presbyterian and the latter Congregational.

During the year 1803 the scattered settlements on the Reserve were visited by religious revivals of much power, and churches and church members were multiplied. In 1809 four churches were added to the Christian sisterhood of New Connecticut. Down to about 1806 Congregationalism was the prevailing polity of these new churches, and "the Ecclesiastical Convention of New Connecticut," a Congregational body, was organized probably in the autumn of 1804.† At

* Mr. Kennedy (*Plan of Union*, p. 23) styles this gentleman "Rev. E. F. Chapin." But as the society which employed him calls him "Chapman," and repeatedly, I conclude that Mr. K. has mistaken the name; especially as the year and month on which Mr. "Chapin" is said to have arrived in Ohio are the very same on which Mr. "Chapman" is said to have "left Hartford, to go to New Connecticut;" viz., "the beginning of November last" Report of the spring of 1803. — *N. Y. Miss. Magazine*, III, 464.

† Rev. Jacob Cram's Missionary Report, in *Mass. Miss. Magazine*, III, 385.

its meeting in September, 1806, six Congregational churches were represented, viz.: Richfield, Hudson, Vernon, Canfield, Vienna and Warren, which reported an aggregate membership of one hundred and sixty persons.* These, however, were not all the Congregational churches on the Reserve, for Mr. Cram tells us that there were seven Congregational churches represented at the organization of the Convention in 1804.†

For some years previous to 1812 Presbyterianism was dominant on the Reserve, through the influence of the new ministers, introduced by the neighboring Presbyteries, at the request of the Connecticut Missionary Society. The lack of men to occupy our new settlements has been a chronic trouble in the Congregational denomination, and has occasioned the loss to us of hundreds of churches. The explanation of the dearth of Congregational missionaries at that particular time now under consideration, is to be found in the penurious policy of the Connecticut Missionary Society developed about the year 1804-06, which reduced the weekly pay of their missionaries to six dollars. Finding that few educated young men in Connecticut would accept such terms, the society applied, in 1806, to the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburg, Penn., for

* *Cong. Quar.*, July, 1863, p. 249; *Conn. Evang. Magazine* VII, 285.

† *Mass. Miss. Magazine*, *ut sup.*

men to labor on the Reserve. The Synod was very ready to furnish all the men whom the society was willing to support in propagating Presbyterianism at the stipulated price. This contract was maintained for several years—the Presbyterians furnishing the men, and the Congregationalists the money, to build Presbyterian churches on the Western Reserve. Kennedy says that these men were generally good, pious, hard-working men, but not as thoroughly educated, nor as energetic and enterprising, as were the New England missionaries.* From their names it is presumed that several of them must have been Scotch and Irish. They were sufficiently enterprising, however, to plant and nurture Presbyterianism wherever they could, and to lay the foundations for half a century of trouble in the churches of the Reserve.

About the year 1812 the tide began to turn. Immigration from New England had greatly increased, and the number of Congregational churches also had increased so rapidly that in the course of eight years no less than thirty-six new Congregational churches had been formed; and between 1830 and 1835, both years included, sixty-seven evangelical churches sprang into life on the Reserve, a goodly proportion of which were Congregational in their polity—making the whole number of Congregational and Presby-

* *Plan of Union*, 35-36; Hart, in *Cong. Quar.*, v, 249.

terian churches one hundred and fifty-nine. And this increase of inhabitants and churches continued until the whole number of Congregational churches on the Reserve in 1845 was one hundred and forty-seven, against twenty-five purely Presbyterian churches. But, after the manner of Presbyterianism at the West, ninety-eight of these Congregational churches were connected in some way with Presbyteries, and were reported in the minutes of the General Assembly as Presbyterian churches. In 1852, though our churches had increased only two in seven years, yet there was a very marked drawing away from Presbyterianism, but sixty-six of our churches being reported as Presbyterian—thirty-two less than in 1845.* In 1854 the number of Congregational churches on the Reserve, as reported in the *Year Book*, was one hundred and fifty, sixty-three of which had some connection with Presbyteries.

This employment of Presbyterian missionaries by a Congregational missionary society was a practical carrying out of the "Plan of Union"—or the "Accommodating Plan," as it was sometimes called—which was first suggested by the Connecticut Missionary Society, then drawn up by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, and adopted by both parties in 1801, and somewhat modified in

* *Plan of Union*, 129-130.

1806. This plan of uniting Christians—or rather of bringing them together in churches which were neither Congregational nor Presbyterian—though originated by good men for good ends, occasioned friction and dissatisfaction, and even contention, far greater than would have resulted from kindly, independent action of the two denominations on the same ground from the first. These nondescript union churches—resembling the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's golden-headed image, half clay and half iron—between which there was no affinity, no possibility of real union—disappointed all parties; though the plan worked decidedly to the advantage of Presbyterianism, against Congregationalism, being, in some instances, *made* to work thus through the resolute purpose of good, stiff-necked Presbyterian brethren, who adopted the “compromise plan” with the hope and expectation that Congregationalism would ultimately be supplanted and rooted out by the means.

The history of the “Grand River Presbytery” furnishes a notable illustration to our purpose; for this Presbytery, organized in 1812–13, “was the germ out of which grew the entire Presbyterian ecclesiasticism of the Western Reserve.”* Its history was briefly this: At the installation of the

* I use here the words of the Rev. William S. Kennedy, a zealous Presbyterian, and follow his account of the Grand River Presbytery.—*The Plan of Union*, Part II, chap. II.

Rev. John Seward as pastor of the Congregational church in Aurora, Portage county, in the very centre of the Reserve, August 5th, 1812, the proposal was entertained to form a Congregational Association, or Conference, as a bond of union for the churches and ministers of that vicinity. The occasion had called together five ministers and a number of lay delegates from the neighboring churches. Of the ministers, three were found to be decided Congregationalists, as were a number of the lay delegates; and one minister seems not to have entertained any very strong preferences regarding the matter. But there was one good Old-School Presbyterian minister among the sons of God — the Rev. Thomas Barr — who was both “grieved and distressed” at the thought of a Congregational Association or Conference in the very centre of the Western Reserve; and, being a man of as much will as piety, he set himself resolutely to avert this threatened calamity from the infant churches of the Reserve; and, as energetic, obstinate good men generally do, he actually succeeded in his unreasonable undertaking. By persuasion and entreaty he induced this body of Congregational ministers and laymen not only to forego their own cherished plan of an Association after the New England pattern, but, for the sake of peace and harmony, to accept good Brother Barr’s proposal, and form themselves into “The Grand River Presbytery” — the first in all that region. This certainly was a grand achieve-

ment, and so Brother Barr naturally enough regarded it; since, as he distinctly says: "The truth is, that at the time of constituting the Grand River Presbytery, I do not recollect a single church within its limits that was truly Presbyterian and so governed, except the church of Euclid," of which he was pastor.

And what is still more noticeable, Mr. Barr confesses that he went into this compromise arrangement, which allowed Congregational churches and ministers who united in this Presbytery to govern themselves Congregationally, if they pleased, not in entire good faith, as a finality, but simply as a first step towards pure Presbyterianism; or, to use his own words, "with the delusive hope of myself and others that by and by the whole would become a real Presbyterian tree, bearing fruit accordingly."

From the date of this temporary triumph of pious diplomacy in Portage county, the work of mixing up Congregationalism and Presbyterianism in church organizations went bravely on for several years; and in 1818 a second Presbytery, substantially like the Grand River Presbytery, was formed, under the title of the "Presbytery of Portage."

Five years later, in 1823, the Huron Presbytery was organized; and finally, in 1825, the Synod of the Western Reserve was erected by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, as the court of appeal for the

Several Presbyteries of the Reserve. Everything thus far seemed to be progressing favorably towards the absolute triumph and supremacy of Presbyterianism in New Connecticut. But, about 1884-86, the union churches began to show decided signs of restlessness, and dissatisfaction with their mongrel character and constrained condition; and even in the General Assembly, a disposition appears to dissolve the unnatural and uncongenial union of parties who differed fundamentally on church polity, one favoring an aristocratic and the other a democratic government.

The first grand, decisive step towards Congregational freedom was taken at Williamsfield, Ash-tabula county — first settled by the New England Puritans in 1796 — where was formed, Oct. 29th, 1834, "The Independent Congregational Union of the Western Reserve."

Six ministers and seven churches united in this ecclesiastical organization, the very name of which indicates the distinct purpose of its members to be no longer hampered by Presbyterian ecclesiasticism. Two years later, in September, 1836, another step was taken in the same general direction, when "The General Association of the Western Reserve" was formed at Oberlin. This body, unlike some of the New England Associations, embraced churches as well as ministers. Its founders were careful to announce that the General Association would not assume "to exercise any ecclesiastical control or jurisdiction, nor

be a standing council to the churches." But it was designed, they said, "to afford to such of them as choose, the free exercise of their Congregational rights; to facilitate and promote Christian intercourse and communion with one another; to support and aid each other in difficulties and trials; and to unite their counsels and efforts for the welfare of the churches, the salvation of souls and the general interests of Christ's kingdom." *

The years 1886-87 were a stormy period for the churches of the Western Reserve, culminating, finally, in the excision from the Presbyterian church of the entire Synod of the Western Reserve. Chaos and night followed for a time. The course pursued by the early churches and ministers of the Western Reserve was anything but wise or politic. We cannot question the motives of the men concerned, but we must their judgment. They sought to promote union and coöperation among Christian people by requiring a sacrifice of conscientious convictions regarding church organization and government. And the result was utter failure and disappoint-

* *Confession of Faith and Constitution of the General Association of the Western Reserve.* Also, *The Constitutions, etc., of the Independent Cong. Union.*

So far as the published creeds of these two bodies are concerned, there is very little to object to, though their Calvinism is of the most moderate kind, and much below the historical standard of the denomination. Soon after this Association was formed, an auxiliary was formed under the title of the "Trumbull Consoociation."

ment on all sides. The only real union obtained was by the absolute absorption of the weaker by the stronger party in the union churches. What were not thus absorbed broke off into separate and often highly antagonistic parties. Thus we find on the Reserve in 1840 at least four different sorts of Congregationalists and as many kinds of Presbyterians. There were Presbyterian-Congregationalists, after the Plan of Union of 1801, or after the modified plan of 1806, which gathered all the ministers into Presbyteries, but allowed the churches to act Congregationally in transacting church business.

These union churches constituted for awhile the great majority of all the churches on the Reserve, numbering probably from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty in 1840. But, besides these, there were eight or ten Congregational churches which were not associated, or were connected with New England associations. There were, also, ten or fifteen absolutely independent churches, known as Tasseycite churches, from a prominent leader among them, Dr. Tasseyc, of Pittsburg, Penn. And there were, besides, churches Congregationally organized, which were known as Unionists, from the design of their founders to unite together, in church fellowship and worship, persons of very different and opposite speculative views. They either rejected all creeds and formulas of doctrine, or adopted such as would comprehend all sorts of religionists;

hoping thus to bind men together with a rope of sand, and to answer the question, "How shall two—or more—walk together except they be agreed?" There were twenty or more churches of this description on the Reserve in 1840.*

But it was not the Plan of Union alone which occasioned all this division among Congregationalists and Presbyterians in New Connecticut. Doctrinal differences had much to do in bringing about this state of things, or in continuing it for a long time.

The General Association of the Western Reserve, formed at Oberlin in 1836, was designed to be the common centre around which all the local associations of the denomination in the Reserve should gather. But, unfortunately, Oberlin had a bad name among the Calvinists of Ohio—and the Congregationalists were largely Calvinists. The professors and friends of the institution at Oberlin were extensively regarded as unsound and

* For much that I have written about the Western Reserve I am indebted to the correspondence of my old classmate and friend, the Rev. Ansel R. Clark, whose published writings have already been repeatedly referred to in preceding pages. Mr. Clark graduated at Dartmouth in the class of 1826, and from the Theological Seminary at Andover in 1829. He immediately went West, as a missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, and there spent his life in eminently useful and successful labors, both as a preacher and editor of a religious newspaper. Mr. Clark's correspondence with me dates back as far as January, 1840.

I have also Rev. Jacob Little's letter, dated October 25, 1839.

unsafe in their doctrinal views and corresponding teaching and measures. Consequently, an ecclesiastical association formed mainly by those gentlemen was very naturally regarded with doubt and jealousy, and failed entirely to enlist the approval and coöperation of the more conservative Congregationalists of the Reserve.

After awhile, however, the prejudice against Oberlinism was so far removed that associations like the one formed by its friends found favor all over the State of Ohio. First came into being the Marietta Consociation, in May, 1841; next, the Consociation of Portage and Summit counties was formed, in December of 1841; and was followed in subsequent years by the Medina Conference, the Conference of Churches in Northeastern Ohio, the Central Ohio Association, the Puritan Association and Conference, the Cincinnati Association, and the Huron County Conference—all constituted on or before the memorable year 1852.

Finally, in compliance with an invitation from the Marietta Consociation, there met at Mansfield, Richland county, very near the centre of the State, on the 23d of June, 1852, seventy-three representatives of forty-two Congregational churches; and, after prayer and conference, proceeded to organize a State Congregational Conference, by adopting unanimously the following resolution:

“Believing that the time has come for the

formation of a State organization among the Congregational churches of Ohio, which shall secure harmony of sentiment and coöperation of action, we, in Convention assembled, recommend the system of a General Conference, upon the following doctrinal basis, which we understand to be, for substance of doctrine, in harmony with the Westminster Shorter Catechism, and with the system currently known as New England Divinity." *

This was the inauguration of a new era in Congregationalism in Ohio, since which time the denomination has been steadily advancing in the number of its churches, in reputation as a sound and evangelical body, and in corresponding influence in the State. And it certainly is a significant fact that Ohio was selected as the State, and Oberlin as the town, in which should be held the first National Congregational Council.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN CINCINNATI AND SOUTHWESTERN OHIO.

Very nearly contemporaneous with the first settlement of Marietta and the southeastern section of Ohio was that of Cincinnati and the southwestern part of the same Territory. Congregationalism, however, had very little to do with this latter settlement, and it has never figured there to much advantage to itself or others. Still, as it

* *Congregational Year-Book*, 1854.

went there at quite an early date, is still there, and is slowly spreading in that region, it claims some notice.

The earliest settlers in southwestern Ohio were principally from the Middle and Southern States — Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, with only a very small number of New England people.* And so far as religious prepossessions were early manifested and religious institutions were formed, they were largely Presbyterian; which denomination was thus made to lead all others; gathering to itself not only all its legitimate sons and daughters in southern Ohio, but also, in large numbers, persons destitute of any special denominational predilections, but who fully appreciated the social position and the ecclesiastical respectability of Presbyterians in that community.

The oldest Congregational church now living in southwestern Ohio bears the euphonious name of "Paddy's Run," in Butler county; of which a pretty full account has already been given.

The church at Greenfield, Highland county, stands next in order of time, having been organized in 1822. Monroe, in Butler county, comes the third in order, dating back to 1829. This was followed by the "Storrs Township [Congregational]

*The town of Worthington, on the Upper Scioto river, in Franklin county, was first settled by New England people from the vicinity of Granville, Mass., before 1804 — *Little's History of Granville, Ohio*, No. 6.

Church," which was formed in 1832, and is now one of the five Congregational churches within the territorial bounds of Cincinnati. The fifth Congregational church in this neighborhood was formed at York, Union county, in 1833; and the sixth, a Welsh church, at Gomer, Allen county. None of these, except that at Gomer, are large churches; five of them aggregating, in 1878, but four hundred and forty-six members, or an average of ninety members to a church.

The first pastor of the first Congregational church in Cincinnati—the Storrs Township Church—the Rev. Horace Bushnell, though aged and blind, still retained his pastoral connection with that church in 1878; a fact creditable alike to the pastor and his church.

But Congregationalism was "as a speckled bird" in Ohio for many years after its introduction; "the birds round about were against her." She had to encounter the Southern and Western prejudice against everything that was of New England origin; the hostility of Presbyterianism to our democratic church polity and government; and also a prevailing suspicion and prejudice regarding our doctrinal views. It was a very hard thing to persuade an Old-School Presbyterian that "any good thing could come out of Nazareth"—that there could be any doctrinal soundness in a denomination out of which had come Unitarianism. Against all these prejudices purely, and against some real evil things—doctrines and

measures which some Ohio Congregationalists had unfortunately adopted and practised for awhile — against all these, Congregationalism, pure and evangelical, orderly in form and sound in the faith, had to struggle for many years — has, in fact, still to struggle; and in the southwestern part of Ohio the struggle has been longer and harder than in any other part of the State.

Between the years 1830-40 there were forty-three Congregational churches organized in the whole State; that is, forty-three which are still living; and of these, four were in the southwestern counties. Between 1840-50 thirty-four Congregational churches were formed, of which eight were in the southwest. One of these was the second Congregational church in Cincinnati, the Lawrence Street Church, formed in 1840. The Vine Street Church was fully organized in 1846, and the Seventh Street Church in 1847. These two churches were formed by colonies — chiefly New England people — from the First and the Second Presbyterian churches of Cincinnati; not, however, without much opposition; for they were not only dissentients from Presbyterian rule, and advocates of a free and popular church government, but many of them were also warmly enlisted in the anti-slavery cause, which found little favor among the Presbyterians, and was indeed very unpopular in that entire section of Ohio. Though compelled to encounter much reproach and severe hostility, and at times

brought low and even threatened with utter extinction, these free churches struggled on, and at length began to prosper.

When the Seventh Street Church, in 1847, assumed the title of "The First Orthodox Congregational Church of Cincinnati," it was by a vote of fifty-six to five. From this vote we may presume that its entire membership was then not far from one hundred and thirty. Their first pastor, after reorganizing, was the Rev. John K. Lord. He was installed in October, 1847, and died, greatly lamented, of cholera, in July, 1849, after a popular and prosperous ministry of twenty-one months. During his pastorate the accessions to the church were fifty-three. After this, the church passed through several years of adversity and trial, and its downfall was confidently predicted. But the congregation began at length to increase, and by the aid of outside friends a large debt was paid off, and the sun of prosperity began to shine upon the enterprise.

In 1860 it was able to report a membership of two hundred and thirty-five, and in 1879 three hundred and forty-six. The Vine Street Church, formed in November, 1846, also prospered and increased, reporting, in 1856, a membership of two hundred and fifty. Since that date it does not seem to have increased much in numbers; though its Sabbath school in 1878 was somewhat larger, and its benevolent contributions were considerably in advance of its more numerically prosperous sister church.

A fifth Congregational church was organized in Columbia, one of the suburbs of Cincinnati, in 1867; and has proved to be a vigorous flourishing little vine. In 1878 it reported ninety-three church members; and in 1879 one hundred and seventeen.

In addition to the churches already named in southwestern Ohio, a Congregational church was organized in Springfield, Clark county, in 1850; another at Lebanon, Warren county, in 1857; at New London, Butler county, in 1866; and perhaps a few others which have escaped notice. But altogether the Congregational churches of the twenty-one southwestern counties of Ohio cannot much exceed the number of the counties themselves; while their aggregate church membership in 1877-78 was only about twenty-two hundred — 2,248.* The largest of these churches

*I begin with Adams county, on the Ohio river, and follow up the second tier of counties, to Union county, near the centre of the State, and then go west to Darke county, on the boundary of the State, which include the entire southwest corner of the State — just twenty counties. In these, according to my count, there are just twenty Congregational churches now, 1878, viz.:

- Cincinnati, Storrs Church, 1832, Hamilton Co.
- Cincinnati, Lawrence Street, 1840, Hamilton Co.
- Cincinnati, Vine Street, 1846, Hamilton Co.
- Cincinnati, Seventh Street, 1847, Hamilton Co.
- Cincinnati, Columbia, 1867, Hamilton Co.
- Eaton, 1838, Preble Co.
- Fairfield, 1841, Green Co.
- Greenfield, 1822, Highland Co.

is the Welsh church at Gomer, which had in 1879 a noble membership of four hundred and twenty souls.

Enough has now been said to indicate what has been the history of Congregationalism in south-western Ohio for the past three fourths of a century, and to demonstrate that hitherto that region has proved to be uncongenial to Congregationalism.

We have now looked over the early history of Congregationalism in the great State of Ohio. A few additional figures will elucidate the later history of the denomination in the State.

At the close of the year 1844, there had been planted in Ohio one hundred and fourteen Congregational churches. In 1854 the number had increased to one hundred and eighty-nine. In 1860 the reported number was one hundred and

Jerome, 1806, Union Co.

Marysville, 1804, Union Co.

— Paddy's Run, 1803, Butler Co.

— Ridgeville, 1846, Warren Co.

— Springfield, 1850, Clark Co.

Centreville (Welsh), 1850, Montgomery Co.

Linwood, 1875, Hamilton Co.

— Monroe, 1829, Butler Co.

Pisgah, 1864, Butler Co.

Ripley, 1861, Brown Co.

— York, 1833, Union Co.

— Gomer, 1836, Allen Co.

There are a very few churches, additional, whose locality I cannot determine by their recorded names.

ninety-eight churches, with nearly twelve thousand communicants—11,750. In 1865 there were two hundred and thirty-six churches and sixteen thousand five hundred communicants. The year following, 1866, the number of our churches reported was seventy-six less, and the number of communicants was nearly five thousand less. This apparent falling off is explained by the fact that all Congregational churches which were connected with and reported by Presbyteries were dropped from our list in 1866. In 1868 the number of pure Congregational churches in Ohio had increased to one hundred and seventy-one, and the communicants to nearly fourteen thousand—13,896. In 1871 we find the denomination rapidly approaching the number reported six years previous—two hundred and one churches being the number returned; while our church members amounted to seventeen thousand, actually exceeding by five hundred the number reported in 1865. In 1878-79 the *Year-Book* reported two hundred and sixteen pure Congregational churches, and twenty-two thousand two hundred eighty-seven church members—a gain of fifteen churches and more than five thousand communicants in the course of eight years.

From these data now given, it appears that, of all the Congregational churches now living in Ohio, forty-two were formed between the years 1800 and 1820; and, what is particularly noteworthy, nearly half of these churches date from

the years 1818 and 1819. Between the years 1821 and 1840, both years included, fifty-seven new Congregational churches appeared in Ohio; and between the years 1841 and 1877 seventy-eight more appeared, or an average of more than two a year for an entire generation; not, to be sure, a very rapid growth, but a healthy and satisfactory growth, certainly.

NOTE. In drawing this sketch of Ohio I have been greatly aided by private letters from gentlemen in Ohio who were familiar with the facts which they state, and most of them personally engaged in early efforts to evangelize Ohio. Among the chief of these correspondents, I must mention, with gratitude, the Rev. Jacob Little, and his brother, Rev. Henry Little; the Rev. U. T. Chamberlin, from whom I had a number of very valuable letters; Pres. Andrews, of Marietta College, whose several letters have been of great service to me; the Rev. Ansel R. Clark, one of the best-informed men on the Western Reserve, whose letters have been filled with important data; and the Rev. Dr. Boynton, from whom many interesting facts have been gathered regarding that section of Ohio; and not least, if last, the venerable Mr. A. T. Nye, an early settler in Marietta.

I have also been much indebted to *Kennedy's Plan of Union, etc.*, compared with *The Plan of Union of 1801, and Reasons why it should be abandoned*; also *A Defence of Ohio Congregationalism and of Oberlin College*, in reply to Kennedy, by Henry Cowles; and "Congregationalism in Ohio," by Rev. J. C. Hart, in *Cong. Quar.* for July, 1883.

CHAPTER VI.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE WEST CENTRAL STATES—IOWA,
1833-1879—MINNESOTA, 1765-1879.

THE States which lie west of the Mississippi, between that river and the Plains, styled the West Central States, include Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota. It is, however, only in the three most northern of these that Congregationalism has any history.

Missouri has already been considered, and we turn now to Iowa and Minnesota. These States are a part of the old Louisiana Territory, which was discovered and colonized by the French between 1673 and 1699, ceded to Spain in 1762, ceded back to France in 1800, and sold to the United States in 1803 for \$15,000,000. This purchase included all the territory between the Gulf of Mexico and the head waters of the Mississippi river, and westward from the river to the Rocky mountains, including an area of nearly nine hundred thousand square miles, or sixty-nine thousand more square miles than the thirteen original United States contained. Between 1803 and 1823 this country was pretty thoroughly explored; first by Lewis and Clarke, 1803-06; by Gen. Zebulon Pike in 1805; by Maj. Long in 1819; and by Gen. Lewis Cass in 1819-20; and still again by Maj.

Long in 1823, who traced the St. Peter's or Minnesota river three hundred and seventy-five miles to its source in the southwestern part of Minnesota and the borders of Dakota; and then northward to the great Red river of the North, which forms the western boundary of Minnesota for some two hundred miles, before it falls into Lake Winnipeg, in Canada.

These several surveys made the world acquainted with the Louisiana Territory, and prepared the way for a rush of immigrants so soon as the land could be brought into the market.

IOWA.

Iowa is now a great, rich, and populous State; in length, from east to west, about three hundred miles, and from north to south not far from two hundred—an area of about fifty-five thousand square miles, equal to nearly thirty-six millions of acres; nearly thirty millions of which is improvable land, chiefly rich prairie covered with black loam from eighteen to thirty-six inches in depth, upon a subsoil of stiff clay. Iowa claims to have more good farming land than Ohio, Indiana and Illinois altogether. It consists largely of rolling prairies, so fertile that the State already holds the second rank in this Union for the production of wheat and Indian corn. It lies between the two principal rivers of North America, having the Mississippi for its eastern boundary and the Missouri for its western; while numerous rivers cross

the State, in an easterly or westerly direction, into one or the other of the great boundary rivers.

A country like Iowa could not, of course, long remain without inhabitants when once fairly opened to settlers. In point of fact, it was invaded by an army of "squatters" before the land was offered for sale.

The first white settler in Iowa was an Indian trader of French and Spanish parentage, by the name of Julien Dubuque; who, while the country was under Spanish rule, purchased of the Indians leagues of land along the Mississippi, and inland three leagues—say, some fifty square miles, including the rich lead mines of that region.

Dubuque took possession of his purchase at once; erected buildings and mills; began farming, and especially mining and smelting lead. But this first white settler was about as much of an Indian as Christian. He had an Indian wife, and practised Indian arts; while he cultivated the ordinary vices of the Spanish and French traders of that period.*

But, with the exception of a few such men as Dubuque, Indian traders, there were no white settlers in Iowa until 1832, when some hundreds of whites forced their way into the country, and began to work the lead mines. But the United States interfered and drove them all out, be-

* *Tuttle's Hist. Iowa*, chap. iv.

cause, though the land had been purchased of the Indians, the treaty had not been ratified by Congress, and no white man had any right to settle on these lands. In 1833, however, the treaty was ratified, and the land for two hundred miles along the Mississippi, and inland about forty miles, was opened to settlers, thousands of whom speedily found their way into this land of promise.

The mines in the neighborhood of Dubuque's purchase were the first and the especial attraction. A thousand or more of miners, traders, speculators, gamblers, and "roughs" of different sorts, were speedily gathered around this spot, and scenes of lawlessness and even bloodshed were frequent.

Settlements were also begun at Fort Madison, at Denmark, at Farmington, at Burlington, and at some other points; but in all the Territory there could not have been, in 1836, more than about ten thousand souls.*

* A missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, writing of his first visit to Iowa, in the spring of 1836, says "The bark houses of the Indians were standing, just as if left only for the summer's hunt; and the stalks from which they gathered their roasting ears and made their camp were still to be seen around their lonely habitations. The whole Territory, aside from the mining district around Dubuque, did not then, probably, contain more than five thousand inhabitants." — *Rep. Am. Home Miss. Soc. for 1845*, p. 98. As the town of Dubuque contained but two thousand inhabitants in 1841 [*Tuttle's Hist. of Iowa*, p. 490], it seems a liberal allowance to say eight or ten thousand for the whole Territory in the spring of 1836.

But the erection of a Territorial government in 1838, and of a State government in 1846, opened wide the gates of immigration. In 1838 there were nearly twenty-three thousand settlers in the Territory; which number had increased in 1846 to about one hundred thousand. According to the State census of 1875, the population of Iowa was one million three hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and forty-four.

The greatest immigration from the Eastern States took place in 1854-55. Then "for miles and miles, day after day, the prairies of Illinois were lined with cattle and wagons pushing on towards Iowa." Seventeen hundred and forty-three wagons passed through Peoria in a single month, carrying probably eight to ten thousand persons on their way to the fertile prairies of Iowa. And Peoria was only one of the gateways into the fertile and beautiful country. Through Chicago there went thousands weekly. Railroad trains came into that city daily, loaded down with passengers and their baggage, so as to require two locomotives to a train. Twelve thousand persons arrived at Chicago from the East by railroad in a single week. Twenty thousand passed through Burlington into the interior in thirty days.*

Probably the first Congregational minister who

* Tuttle's Iowa, 222.

ever looked with the eye of a missionary upon Iowa was the Rev. Julius A. Reed, in May, 1833. He was then stationed at Commerce, Illinois, afterwards known as Nauvoo. It was only at first as Moses looked into the "promised land" — across the river. He, however, became a pioneer missionary here from the autumn of 1840.*

The first Protestant sermon ever preached in Iowa is supposed to have been by Barton H. Cartwright, a local Methodist preacher of Illinois, early in 1834. This was at Burlington, where Mr. Cartwright formed a class. He gathered another class at Dubuque, which was the commencement of the first religious organization in the place.†

The first missionary commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society for Iowa was the Rev. Cyrus L. Watson, December 28th, 1835, for twelve months. His commission was for "Dubuque's Mines, Missouri Ter." Mr. Watson remained at the mines but about four months. It is not unlikely that he was discouraged by the conduct of the disorderly, graceless and vicious squatters around him, and abandoned the ground in despair.‡

* *The Iowa Band*, p. 58. Published by the Congregational Publishing Society, 1870, in a 12mo, 184 pages; *History of Congregationalism in Iowa*. Published in the *Congregational Herald*, Chicago, Ill. July, 1853.

† *MS. Letters from Rev. J. M. Chamberlain and Rev. Julius A. Reed*, Sept. 21, 1839; *Pres. Mayoun's Hist. Ser. at Lyons, Ia.*

‡ *Reports Am. Home Miss. Soc.*, 1836 and 1837. The Report says "Dubuque Mines, Missouri Ter." It doubtless should have been Iowa.

The next missionary for this Territory was the Rev. William P. Apthorp, of Mendon, Mass.; twice commissioned for Franklin and Fort Madison — July 1st, 1836, and June 1st, 1837.*

On the 1st of December, 1838, that faithful and efficient Congregational minister, Rev. Reuben Gaylord, was commissioned for twelve months at "Mt. Pleasant, Baltimore and New London, Henry county, Iowa Ter." These are contiguous towns in the southeastern part of the State. Mr. Gaylord remained in this neighborhood until 1841, when he was commissioned to preach at Westford half the time—where a church had just been organized, as the result of a revival—and to itinerate half the time between the Skunk and Iowa rivers.

In June, 1839, Mr. Gaylord had organized a church at Danville, and the same year at Fairfield, both Congregational churches, and still on our lists; reporting in 1878-79 ninety-six and one hundred and thirty-one members respectively.

On the 18th of June, 1838, the Rev. James A. Clark was commissioned for "Fort Madison, I. T., where [the Report says] many able and devoted ministers were greatly needed to occupy important posts in the Territory."† In 1840 Mr. Clark was still at Fort Madison, laboring amidst increas-

* Reports, 11th and 12th; *Historical Sketch of the Congregational Church of Denmark, Ia.*

† *Thirteenth Report Am. Home Miss. Soc.*, 1839.

ing attention to the means of grace, and doing acceptable and productive ministerial work in the surrounding settlements. In 1841 he divided his labors with the people of Waterloo, in Missouri, some twenty-five miles from Fort Madison, who were then enjoying a revival of religion.* In 1843 he was laboring at Fort Madison, with an increasing congregation and more than ordinary religious interest; and in 1844 became the pastor of a Presbyterian church which had been formed there.

The First Congregational Church in Iowa was organized at Denmark, Lee county, May 5th, 1838.† This was a New England settlement, some ten or fifteen miles from the Mississippi river, northwest of Fort Madison and southwest of Burlington. The first settlers of the place, in June, 1836, were Timothy Fox, Lewis Epps, Curtis Shedd, and their families, and Edward A. Hills and Samuel Houston; and William Brown and family in October. These good people were reinforced in 1837 by five more men, with their families, and seven single men—all but one New

* *Am. Home Miss. Reports*, 1840-41.

† There were only two Presbyterian churches in the Territory when this Congregational church was organized: one Old-School, at West Point, and one New-School, at Fort Madison; and they were but a month or two older than the Congregational church of Denmark, being organized by the Rev. Mr. McCoy, of Clayton, Ill., in March, 1838.—*Father Turner's Discourse at Dubuque*, July, 1866.

England people. Having made a settlement, they immediately instituted Sabbath worship. In the summer of 1837, they obtained, for half the time, the services of the Rev. Mr. Apthorp, a Massachusetts missionary stationed at Fort Madison, and retained him during the winter. In the spring of 1838 they took another step towards establishing the institutions of religion in the place. They invited the Rev. Julius A. Reed, of Warsaw, Ill., and the Rev. Asa Turner, of Quincy, Ill., to visit them, and assist in organizing a Congregational church. These gentlemen responded; and on the 4th or 5th of May met thirty-two persons — representing every New England State but Rhode Island — who “wished to enter into covenant with each other and with God, as a church of Christ,” and were prepared to relate their “religious experience, the ground of their hope, and their motives in wishing to constitute themselves a branch of Christ’s visible church.” All this being done, the saints in Denmark were duly organized on the 5th of May, 1838, as the First Congregational church of Iowa; and not of Iowa only, but the first Congregational Church in all the vast country west of the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, and between Canada and the Rio Grande; a territory from ten to fifteen hundred miles square, and nearly or quite twice as large as all the rest of the United States, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from Canada line to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

The Articles of Faith—ten in number—adopted by this church are thoroughly evangelical and moderately Calvinistic. The Divine Sovereignty and Salvation “of mere grace through faith in Christ” are brought out very distinctly; and so is the Saints’ Perseverance, who, according to these articles, “are kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation;” but the doctrine of Election is not mentioned, though the harmony of these articles requires that it should be.

The Ecclesiastical Principles and the Rules and Regulations adopted by this church are sound and excellent, even to the point that “the Pastor [of the church] should be one of its members.” *

With great effort a small log-meeting-house was built in 1837, twenty-four feet by twenty, covered with split boards, and furnished with a loose flooring; and in July, 1838, that man of God, and faithful, zealous Congregational missionary, the Rev. Asa Turner, by invitation of the church, moved into the village, and became the minister of this people, devoting half of his time to their service. The village then was little else than a collection of a few rude shanties, and there was nothing

* *Historical Sketch, Articles, Principles, etc., etc., of the Congl. Chh. of Denmark, Iowa, 1874.* For this I am indebted to the present pastor of the church, the Rev. E. Y. Swift.

For some of the facts in this sketch of Denmark, I have drawn on *Father Turner’s Discourse*, at Dubuque, in 1839. Published in the *Religious News Letter* for July, 1839.

better within the radius of a mile around. But the settlement grew, and the church with it; the pastor and the church being well matched and ready to coöperate in every good work. On the 5th of November, 1840, Mr. Turner was installed pastor. In 1842 the church enjoyed an unusual season of religious revival, as the result of a series of prayer and conference meetings three times a week for about three months, and a season of public worship for eighteen successive days. Thirty-five persons in that small community united with the church as the fruits of that revival. In 1850 there was another revival, and thirty-one more were added to the church; and in 1856, twenty-five more were gathered into the church, after a season of protracted worship. By these large additions, and by smaller ones which occurred nearly or quite every year, in 1856 the church at Denmark could report as received to its fellowship, in the course of the eighteen years, three hundred and forty-eight souls.

The church is still living, and apparently prospering, having nearly two hundred communicants.

The first settlers of Denmark justified their New England origin and training, by their early and liberal provision for the education of their children. The original proprietors of the town, Timothy Fox, Lewis Epps, William Brown and Curtis Shedd, under the full conviction that learning and religion were the great pillars of a pros-

perous settlement, generously gave an undivided half of the town site for the purposes of education. That early provision has not only aided the common schools of the settlement, but has also given life to Denmark Academy, which has already been a blessing to an entire generation. It was opened in the primitive log-meeting-house, sometime in February, 1843, has been sustained ever since, and can now boast of as spacious and beautiful an academy building as the proudest New England village could desire.

It was in Denmark, too, that the General Association of Iowa was formed, on the 6th of November, 1840; and it was at that meeting that Iowa College was first talked over, and prayed over, and afterwards projected; and it was by the faith and energy of the same sort of men that founded the church and the association, that this college has been made a noble success.*

The arrival in Iowa, in the autumn of 1843, of nine well-educated young ministers, in one band, was a memorable and highly important event in the history of the Territory. This "Band" was formed in the year 1842-43, at Andover Theological Seminary, after much deliberation, prayer and inquiry; and originally consisted of twelve students, who first resolved to go West, and afterwards to go to Iowa, the most western of our new Territories at that time. Three of the band, how-

* *Iowa Band*, Introduction, and chap. XIII.

ever, for good reasons, withdrew from the enterprise; leaving nine to go forward to their chosen field of service at the close of the seminary term, in the autumn of 1843. Their names, which deserve a lasting remembrance, were: Daniel Lane, Harvey Adams, Horace Hutchinson, Alden B. Robbins, William Salter, Edwin B. Turner, Benjamin A. Spaulding, Ebenezer Alden, Jr., and Ephraim Adams; all members of the class of 1843. Seven of these were New England men: four from Massachusetts, and one each from New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine; one was from New York, and one from Illinois. They were joined in Iowa by William A. Thompson and Charles Granger, who were on the ground. And they were all Congregationalists, or they all adopted this platform in Iowa, were all among the first members of the Iowa Congregational General Association, and were all alive except three, in 1873.*

This band of Christian laborers arrived at Burlington, Iowa, on or about the first day of November, 1843, and were most cordially received and entertained. But their destination was the little village of Denmark, some fifteen miles inland, where they were to meet the Congregational Association, and receive ordination, and decide on their

* *Iowa Band*, p. 43. Mr. Hutchinson died March 7, 1846; Mr. Spaulding, March 31, 1867; and Mr. Thompson, May 3, 1862.—*Thirtieth Memorial Anniversary of the Denmark Cong'l Association*. By Rev. Wm. Salter, 1873.

respective fields of labor. Agreeably to previous arrangement, an ecclesiastical council was organized at that place, seven of the young men were examined, and on Sunday, the 5th of November, 1843, were ordained as evangelists to the scattered Christians of Iowa. That Sunday was indeed a high day with the assembled Congregational ministers and people of Iowa. There were, previous to this, not above sixteen Congregational churches in the Territory, in a population — rapidly increasing — of more than eighty thousand souls. Here, then, was an accession to the Congregational ministry of Iowa, in one day, equal to half the whole number of our churches and ministers in the Territory.

On Monday, November 6th, these evangelists went forth to the several fields of labor which they had chosen or to which they had been assigned. The value of this band of educated, devoted and enthusiastic young men to the religious, moral and educational interests of Iowa can hardly be overestimated; contributing very largely, as they have done, to give Iowa the rank she now holds as the second State in all the West — Illinois being the first — and the seventh in all the United States, for the number of its Congregational churches and ministers.

The Congregational church of Burlington stands second in point of age among the Congregational churches of Iowa, though but a few months younger than that of Denmark. The location of Burlington, on the Mississippi river, a few miles

above Fort Madison, is commanding and beautiful, and very early attracted the attention of settlers. It is the site of the first settlement in Des Moines county, a family having occupied it as early as 1832; but they were not allowed to remain, the country not then being open to settlers. As soon, however, as the government would allow of settlements on these Indian lands, Burlington was occupied, and from 1833 grew rapidly, until it became the most important place in the Territory; a position which it even now shares with perhaps two or three other cities.

On the 25th of November, 1838, the Rev. James A. Clark, a missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, stationed then at Fort Madison, organized the Congregational church of Burlington. It was but a little company of believers that he organized into a church; and for several years they were a feeble folk, requiring constant missionary aid. In October, 1843, they were fortunate enough to secure as their minister the Rev. Horace Hutchinson, a graduate of Amherst College in 1839, and of Andover Theological Seminary in 1843 — one of the famous Iowa Band. He remained with the church until removed by death, March 7th, 1846. Immediately after his decease, the Rev. William Salter, another of the Iowa Band, a graduate of the University of New York in 1840, and of Andover Theological Seminary in 1843, was called to this pastorate, and installed

on the 30th of December, 1846; and, to the credit of all concerned, he still remains the pastor of this church.

Though this church may not have grown as rapidly as some others in the State, nor even proportionally with the growth of the city of its habitation, it is yet among the largest Congregational churches in Iowa—six only exceeding it in size. It has now two hundred and eighty-four communicants. Its Confession of Faith is very brief and general. It is simply a confession of belief in God, the Father Almighty; in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification; and in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life; in the Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.*

The organization of this church for Christian work is excellent; as are its rules and orders, with one notable exception which provides for the removal, in certain contingencies, of members from the church, without any form of trial or discipline. Such a provision must be regarded as an anomaly in Congregational history.†

* *Manual of the Cong'l. Chh. in Burlington, Iowa*, April, 1876. For this, and other documents pertaining to Iowa churches, the author is indebted to the Rev. Mr. Salter.

† "On recommendation of the Examining Committee, the name of an unworthy member, with the consent of said member, may be stricken from the roll." — *Manual*, pp. 12, 13.

The progress of Congregationalism in Iowa was for awhile very slow. Five years after the country was opened, there was but a single Congregational church in the Territory. In the course of 1838, two churches of our order were formed: one at Denmark and the other at Burlington. In 1839 the churches at Danville, Dubuque, Fairfield and Lyons were added to the Congregational sisterhood. From 1840 to 1850 the work went on but slowly, these ten years adding only twenty-three churches to the Congregational body. But the next ten years witnessed a rapid increase of our churches, keeping pace somewhat with the vast inflow of settlers to the State, and adding eighty-two Congregational churches to the Iowa list. The growth during the next ten years, 1861-70, both included, amounted to sixty-four churches; and during the next seven years, 1871-78 the increase was forty-six churches; leaving on our list, at the last reports, two hundred and twenty-five Congregational churches and two hundred and three Congregational ministers; the product of forty-one years' Christian work of a single denomination, and this by no means one of the largest.

Iowa is justly proud of her public school system, and of her numerous educational institutions which are not public.* Of public schools there must be,

*The Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State, in 1875, reported the number of public schools at 9,810. As to the

at the present time, at least twelve thousand in the State; and of schools and institutions not public — classical, technical, collegiate and professional — at least two hundred.

All this is certainly highly honorable to the enterprise, liberality, intelligence and moral worth of the people of Iowa. But what has all this to do with Congregationalism? This: that the Congregationalists of Iowa were the leaders — the very first men to move in this educational work.

The Congregational saints at Denmark, for example, began at once to plan and pray, and to give liberally for an academy, which they accounted as the second great thing in their settlement; and, not content with this, they proceeded to work and pray for a college, which should be a blessing to the whole country. And they and kindred spirits and fellow-religionists never ceased to work and pray for this great and good object — a thoroughly Christian college — until they were blessed with the sight of Iowa College, in its charming location at Grinnell, furnished with commodious and elegant buildings, a respectable endowment, a comparatively liberal beneficiary fund, and eight or

colleges of Iowa, President Magoun, of Iowa College, says: "No Western State, in its maturity, has as many colleges as in its infancy. Forty were reported, years since, in Iowa; we can find about fifteen now." — *See Cong'l Quarterly* for January, 1871. *The Cyclopaedia of Education* gives the names of sixteen colleges in Iowa, in 1876-77; Thwing (*Am. Colleges*, 1878-79) gives seventeen.

ten excellent teachers, and hundreds of scholars in its various departments. This college was originally established at Davenport, on the Mississippi river, in 1847; five years in advance of any other college in the State.* It was removed to Grinnell, Poweshiek county, about one hundred miles interior, near the centre of the State, in 1860.†

The same spirit which moved the first Congregationalists in Iowa to attach the school and the college to their churches animated the Iowa Band in the seminary at Andover when, in contemplation of their removal to that frontier territory, they encouraged themselves by saying: "If each one of us can only plant one good, permanent church, and all together build a college, what a work that would be!"

The same love of good learning associated with Christian institutions shone brightly in the little

* The Baptists established "Burlington University" in 1853, and the "Central University of Iowa," at Pella, in Marion county, some thirty miles west by south from Grinnell, in 1854.

† In 1876, the productive funds of Iowa College were stated to be \$90,000. Its libraries contained 6,000 volumes. It had a Museum of Natural History, and chemical, philosophical, and astronomical apparatus. It is open alike to both sexes. It has a Normal and English Department; an Academy Course of two years, preparatory to the college and ladies' courses; a Ladies' Course of four years; and a College Course of four years. In 1877-78 the college had 17 instructors, 4 lecturers, and 337 students. The Rev. George F. Magoun was placed at the head of this institution in 1882, and remains still in the presidency in 1879 — *Cyclopaedia of Education*.

company, of kindred religious and ecclesiastical views, who first settled southwestern Iowa.

In the winter of 1848-49, a Union church, of eleven members, was formed near Gaston, Fremont county, Iowa, at a place nicknamed by the Missouri "roughs" the "Civil Bend," to distinguish it from another settlement just below it, called the "Devil's Bend." The location of this church was on the river bottom, in the southwestern corner of the Territory, a few miles above Nebraska City, on the opposite bank of the river.

This church, though exposed to the ridicule and even the petty persecution of the border ruffians in its vicinity, maintained its position, and gradually increased in number until it contained about thirty members in 1852. Among the original members of this church were several devoted and earnest Christian men and women — Congregationalists — who had emigrated to Iowa for the express purpose of establishing institutions of religion and learning like those of Oberlin, Ohio. They had witnessed the blessed fruits of that Christian institution, and they were fired with zeal, begotten of prayer, to found a similar institution in Iowa.

A few years' experience satisfied these Oberlin Congregationalists that the river bottom was not the place on which to build a literary institution, and that a union church was not the best organization for them to work in while building. They therefore decided, after the most thorough explora-

tion of the country all around, and the most prayerful consideration of the subject, to remove to the high lands — "the divide" — between the Missouri and the Nishnabotona rivers, ten or twelve miles northeast from Civil Bend.

This place they named "Tabor;" and here, on the 12th of October, 1852, they organized a Congregational church — the first of this order in all western Iowa which has proved permanent; and here they proceeded to lay the foundations of a literary institution for both sexes, which, like the church, has greatly prospered and proved a rich blessing to all the country around.

The original members of this Congregational church were the Rev. John Todd — their first and, to this date, their only pastor — and his wife, Martha A.; George B. Gaston, and his wife, Maria C.; with their two sons, Alexander C. and Alonzo M.; and Samuel H. and Caroline M. Adama.

Public worship was immediately instituted, and a Sabbath school organized, which were regularly attended in the grove, under a bass-wood tree, in fair weather, and in the pastor's cabin in foul weather, until August, 1853; and then in George Gaston's house, where the weekly prayer-meeting was held, until the district school-house was finished, in November, 1854. And neither the prayer-meeting, the Sabbath school nor public worship has ever been suspended, from the day they were instituted to the present day; though, in the absence of their pastor in his ministrations

among the destitute settlements in the vicinity, the church has often been left entirely to its own resources.

The consecration of this little church to the service of the Master was a guarantee of its prosperity; and every year of its existence has witnessed a gradual increase of its members, amounting in all to five hundred and eighty-four persons in the course of twenty-five years; or an average yearly increase of twenty-three persons; leaving the church in 1878-79 with three hundred and thirty-seven members — the largest, with the exception of Grinnell, which has five hundred and ninety-eight communicants, of the Congregational churches of Iowa. And this church, with no rich men in it, has been entirely self-supporting, with the exception of the first year of its existence, when it received one hundred and fifty dollars from the American Missionary Association.

Tabor College as now organized furnishes instruction for both sexes, and for all classes of learners. It contains a Collegiate Department, with a first-class curriculum; a Preparatory Department, embracing a classical course, a scientific course, an English course and a musical course; a Ladies' Department, and a Teachers' Department. It has a president and six professors, a lady principal and two female assistants; and in 1878-79 had two hundred and eleven different students in all the departments.

Tabor Institution was chartered in 1854; was

opened as an academy in 1857, and as a college in 1866. It now has an endowment of about \$50,000. For nine years the Congregational church and people of Tabor sustained the academy without aid from abroad; and, on the opening of the college department, gave and pledged thirty thousand dollars towards its endowment and support; the first nineteen donors pledging an average of sixty per cent. on the assessed value of their entire property, and the principal donor giving one hundred per cent. of the assessed value of his property while living, and dividing again with the college at his death.

The moral tone of this college and of the community in which it is situated may be judged from the facts, that there has never been a drinking saloon in the place, and that, within a mile around the college, seventy per cent. of all the inhabitants above twelve years old are church members; that the church has had but one pastor in twenty-six years, and that scarcely a single year has passed since the church was formed during which the community has not been blessed with a revival of religion of more or less power.

And it may almost be said of the college that it has been self-supporting. Very little has been given to it or done for it except what the church and members of the college and its immediate neighbors have done for its support; and at the same time the church and college have been giving to foreign and home missions, and have

been aiding neighboring settlements in sustaining Sabbath schools and the institutions of religion among them. They have sent out ten preachers of the gospel, and a hundred and sixteen school-teachers.

NOTE. For the materials of this sketch of Tabor Church and College, I am much indebted to the pastor of the church and an officer of the college, Rev. John Todd; particularly, to his *Quarter-Centennial History of Tabor Congregational Church*, which he kindly sent to me in manuscript, with sundry printed documents. In the *Iowa Band*, pp. 133-38, there is a brief but comprehensive sketch of this remarkable enterprise; and Tuttle, in his *History of Iowa*, pp. 612-13, speaks in most commendatory terms of Tabor College.

MINNESOTA.

Minnesota, with its "sky-tinted waters," includes all that remained of the old Northwest Territory after five noble States had been carved out of it, and a large slice of the Louisiana Territory. Originally it embraced all the territory between Iowa and the British possessions in the North, and between the Mississippi and the Missouri in the West—about double its present area. It was erected into a Territory in 1849, and admitted as a State in 1858; and though greatly curtailed in size, it is still larger than any State in the Union, except Oregon, California and Texas; stretching north and south about three hundred and fifty miles, and east and west quite as far, though not uniformly, and enclosing an area of eighty-three thousand five hundred square miles.

The first American citizen who is known to have explored Minnesota was that famous New Englander, Captain Jonathan Carver, in 1766-68, of whom some account has already been given.

Captain Carver seems to have been deeply impressed with the beauty and richness and general attractiveness of the country, and has left on record this declaration: "It is a country that promises in some future period to be an inexhaustible source of riches to that people who shall be so fortunate as to possess it."

In 1810-12 Lord Selkirk purchased a large tract of land of the Hudson Bay Company, and commenced a settlement on the Red river of the North, of Highland Scotch, who were subsequently joined by numerous Canadians of Scotch, English and French descent, and half-breed Indians; and the settlements were extended down the river, and when the boundary line was run, two of them—Pembina and St. Vincent's—were found within the bounds of Minnesota. Some of these Red river settlers found their way down the Mississippi to the Reservation around Fort Snelling, purchased by General Pike in 1805; and even below, as far as Prairie du Chien, in Wisconsin. This was as early as 1826-32. It was not, however, until after the celebrated Schoolcraft expedition to the sources of the Mississippi, in 1832, made known to the country the great value and beauty of that vast northern section of country, that settlers and traders began to move freely into Minnesota. In

1841 no less than forty-one steamboats arrived at Fort Snelling, laden with immigrants and their goods; and by 1850 the arrivals were more than one hundred steamboats a year.*

The first log cabin was built at St. Paul, in 1840; and in 1846-47 there were but three white families in the place. But after the establishment of a Territorial government, in 1849, the settlement grew rapidly; so that, by June of that year, more than six hundred buildings, all told, could be counted at St. Paul, including three hotels, four warehouses, ten stores, several shops and groceries, two printing-offices, a school-house and a Catholic church, etc. Other settlements were rapidly made, chiefly, however, on the east side of the Mississippi; so that in June, 1850, the census-takers reported over six thousand inhabitants in the Territory—a gain of nearly forty per cent. on the number in 1849,† and more than double the number there was in 1848. For six years the rush of emigrants to this Territory continued; but in 1857 came the great financial crisis and panic, which pervaded the whole country, but affected the Western States and Territories most disastrously. Immigration stopped, and every kind of business

* *Minnesota Year-Book*, 1851; from which many important facts have been obtained for this sketch.

† The *Year-Book* says 85% per cent. But if the inhabitants of Minnesota in 1849 numbered 4,680, and in 1850, 6,193, even forty per cent. is too large. In 1848 the population was reported at 3,000.

was brought to a stand; and among other things—most happily—speculation in Western lands, which had been working ill to the country for years, ceased. The death of speculation brought life to farming, and laid a broad foundation for the ultimate prosperity of the country. The need of this farming revival appears from the statement that, in 1854, there were only fifteen thousand ploughed acres in all Minnesota; and the people were then actually importing breadstuffs for their own consumption. The crash in business drove people to farming, just as the “hard times” of later years have done; and in 1868 a million acres of land were under cultivation, and Minnesota was able to feed her own children and to export ten millions of bushels of wheat.*

The State speedily rallied from its sad depression, and immigration again began to come in like a flood. The population in 1860 was one hundred and seventy-five thousand souls; and in five years it had increased forty-five per cent.; and in five years more, it had swollen to nearly four hundred and forty thousand souls.

If now it should be asked, What are the special attractions of Minnesota, particularly to Northern and Eastern people? the answer would be: Its northern yet central position in the very heart of this continent; its salubrious climate, free of all malaria and fever provocatives; its elevated plu-

* *Hewitt's Minnesota; its Advantages to Settlers.* 1866.

teaus and noble highlands; its fine, rich, rolling prairies, as well as boundless pastures; its extensive lumber regions; its countless lakes and streams and waterfalls; its great rivers and extended waterways.

The first Protestant Christian workers in Minnesota, so far as is known, were the brothers Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond, from Connecticut. In May, 1834, they appeared at Fort Snelling as volunteer laborers among the Dakotas. Neither of them was a licensed preacher, and, so far as appears, they had no connection with any missionary society. They made their way directly to an Indian village near the fort, built them a log hut, and began to learn the language of the natives and to work in various ways for their good. At the same time, these devoted young men and their wives sought opportunities to do good to the soldiers at Fort Snelling; and, with the coöperation of Captain Loomis, they were permitted to see, among the fruits of their first year's labors, the hopeful conversion of two officers and seven soldiers of the garrison. Having thus demonstrated the practicability of missionary work in Minnesota, and their own fitness for this work, the American Board decided, in 1835, to establish a mission among the Dakotas, and in 1837 to appoint the brothers Pond to the mission.

In May, 1835, the Rev. Thomas S. Williamson, M. D., and Mr. Alexander G. Huggins and their

wives arrived at the fort, missionaries of the American Board to the Dakotas. On the 30th of the same month Rev. Jedediah D. Stevens and family also arrived, on the same errand of mercy. Mr. Stevens had been a teacher among the Stockbridge Indians for several years. Early in June, 1835, Messrs. Williamson and Stevens organized a church at Fort Snelling. This was the first Christian church ever formed within the bounds of the present State of Minnesota, and was at first composed of fourteen White persons, eight of them new converts. The mission was soon reinforced by the appointment of Rev. Stephen R. Riggs and wife, Robert Hopkins and wife, and Lucy C. Stevens and Sarah Poage; also by Moses N. Adams, John F. Aiton and Joseph W. Hancock and their wives. And by 1850, the Board had missionary stations among the Dakotas at Lake Harriet, near Fort Snelling; at Lac qui Parle, on or near the Minnesota river, a hundred and fifty miles or more west; at Traverse des Sioux, at Shakopee, Oak Grove, Red Wing and Wabasha, and at Kaposia. A church was formed at Lac qui Parle; and in the course of six years, forty-nine persons were received into it, chiefly converted Dakotas. Another church was organized at Kaposia as early as 1846-49. These churches were Presbyterian in their organization, though some of the missionaries may have been Congregationalists; and all were supported by the American Board, whose funds came largely from Congregationalists. Two

small Indian churches also were formed in 1850. Schools were established at the different stations, together with the various institutions of Christianity and civilization; and the converts among the Indians were encouraging, both in numbers and in religious character, some of them proving eminently devoted and consistent Christians, even amidst the severest trials and persecutions for their faith's sake.*

From these several mission stations first sounded out the word of the Lord to all the White settlers, and "speculators in village sites and city lots," who, about 1850, began to swarm like locusts over Minnesota; and from among these early missionaries the White settlers obtained several of their most efficient ministers.

The first Congregational preacher to the White

*The Dakota Mission is still in active existence, notwithstanding the terrible trials through which it has had to pass; the missionaries having to flee for their lives during the horrors of "Little Crow's" attack on the White settlements, in 1862, while with tomahawk and torch he desolated an area of twenty thousand miles, and killed six or seven hundred persons. But at the end of the war the missionaries resumed their labors, and had the joy of receiving some hundreds of these very Indians as converts to Christianity.—See President Bartlett's admirable *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the A. B. C. F. M. among the N. A. Indians*. To this I am indebted for many of the details above. Also to a *Manuscript History of the Missionaries of the Board*, preserved among the archives of the Society; and to the *Memorial Volume of the A. B. C. F. M.*; and to the *Minnesota Year-Book*.

settlers in Minnesota appears to have been Rev. William Caldwell, who early in 1849 was located at Stillwater, on the St. Croix river, some twenty miles northeast of St. Paul. He preached also once in six weeks at Cottage Grove and at Point or Port Douglas, some fifteen and twenty-five miles down the river from Stillwater. This he continued to do until October, 1850, when the Rev. Richard Hall relieved him from the care of Cottage Grove and Point Douglas. Mr. Hall was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society, October 1st, 1850.

On the 15th of July, 1849, the Rev. E. D. Neill, who had been the minister of the Presbyterian church in Elizabeth, Illinois, from November 1st, 1847, was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society to labor at St. Paul, Minnesota, where a small meeting-house had been built by members of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, and a church organized, December 1st, 1849; and on the 4th of October, 1849, the Rev. J. C. Whitney was commissioned to preach to the First Presbyterian Church in Stillwater, which had just been formed. Both of these gentlemen were Presbyterians, and did what they could for their church. Another Presbyterian church was organized at St. Anthony, in the autumn of 1850, to which the Rev. Mr. Neill preached every other Sabbath. These were all New School churches; and with the two ministers then in the Territory, and another, who went up

from Galena, Illinois, to make out the constitutional number, a New School Presbytery was organized at St. Paul, in October, 1850.

This movement, no doubt, was in accordance with the views of the New School Presbyterian General Assembly, who were getting weary of the Plan of Union, and were disposed to make all the new churches of the West strictly Presbyterian, and to have all their ministers members of Presbytery, even though Congregationalists in sentiment.

The first ministers in Minnesota who are known certainly to have been Congregationalists were the Rev. Charles Seccombo and the Rev. Richard Hall, who arrived in the autumn of 1850,* commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society: Mr. Seccombe, for St. Anthony; and Mr. Hall, for Point Douglas and Cottage Grove.

On his arrival at St. Anthony, the missionary found that a Presbyterian church had just been gathered there, and that the newly-made Presbytery had determined not to install any minister over a Presbyterian church who was not himself a member of Presbytery; and as Mr. Seccombe and Mr. Hall had both declined to unite with the

* These gentlemen were graduates of Dartmouth College, in the class of 1847. Mr. Hall was the son of the Rev. Richard Hall, of New Ipswich, N. H.; and received his preparation for college and his Christian hope while a pupil in the celebrated New Ipswich Academy, under the charge of that excellent man and admirable scholar and teacher, the Rev. Charles Shedd, now Mr. Hall's neighbor in Minnesota.

Presbytery immediately on their arrival in Minnesota, Mr. Seecombe found that he must either sacrifice his conscientious convictions or organize a church on the ground over which he could be installed, or abandon his mission to St. Anthony. Finding that there was a competent number of persons in the place not connected with any church to constitute another church, and having no authority from the Missionary Society to remove to any other place, Mr. Seecombe decided to form a Congregational church. This was effected on the 16th of November, 1851; the Rev. Mr. Hall assisting on the occasion, and preaching an appropriate sermon from Matthew v: 16 — "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." The number of persons organized into this first Congregational church of Minnesota was twelve, including Mr. Seecombe and his wife — five men and seven women; all received by letters except one. And they were all new materials; persons not before connected with any church in Minnesota. Dr. Vickers Fell and Mr. Daniel M. Coolbaugh were elected deacons; and a religious society was organized, and incorporated according to the statutes of the Territory, and the work of erecting a meeting-house was immediately commenced, about a thousand dollars having been collected at the East for the purpose. But the work of building was interrupted by the efforts of the American Home Missionary Society to unite

the two churches of St. Anthony. This was effected in July, 1852, both being merged into the "Plan of Union Church of St. Anthony," consisting of fourteen Congregationalists and eleven Presbyterians. But this union, while it increased the size of the church and was harmonious and pleasant to all concerned, tended rather to stop than to promote the work on the meeting-house. The Congregationalists naturally thought that they had done almost their proportion of the work; and the Presbyterians coming into the church could contribute but about one hundred dollars towards it, while outside of the church nothing was contributed; and it was only by the personal efforts of the pastor that a place of worship was finally secured in the basement of the meeting-house. But the house itself remained unfinished and uncovered. At length the church became satisfied that in their hybrid character the enterprise could never succeed, and on the 24th of July unanimously adopted the report of a committee of two Congregationalists and two Presbyterians, to the effect that the plan of union adopted by the church had entirely failed of the end contemplated, and "that the Plan of Union Church [should] now change its polity to the Congregational, and be hereafter styled 'The First Congregational Church of St. Anthony.'"

After some little delay, the meeting-house was finished, and dedicated, with heartfelt praise and thanksgiving, on the 15th of February, 1854. Up

to this time Mr. Secombe had labored with the church as a home missionary; but on the 30th of July, 1854, having accepted the call of the church, he was installed their pastor, and continued his efficient and acceptable ministrations among them for twelve years, during which time one hundred and fifty-five persons were added to the church, and the society was freed entirely of debt.

This church is still alive and prospering, though now known as the First Congregational Church of Minneapolis, just across the Mississippi from St. Anthony. In 1878 it had a membership of one hundred and eighteen souls, though three other Congregational churches were flourishing around it: the Plymouth Church, with four hundred and ninety-three members; the Second Congregational Church, with one hundred and twenty-five members, and the Pilgrim Church, with ninety-one members — an aggregate membership of more than seven hundred souls; which, added to the number in the First Church, gives Minneapolis eight hundred and twenty-seven Congregational church members, in a population of thirty-two thousand seven hundred, in 1875.

While Mr. Secombe was laboring in the Master's service at St. Anthony and Minneapolis, his companion in travel and faith, Richard Hall, was doing the same at Point Douglas, at the confluence of the St. Croix and Mississippi. There he labored until February 15th, 1852, before he could gather materials enough for a small Congregational church

-- two males and seven females. This was the second Congregational church of Minnesota. Mr. Hall remained in that neighborhood until 1856, when he was appointed superintendent of the Home Missionary churches of the State. But on the territory over which he travelled and preached during his first four years in Minnesota there are now three Congregational churches: one at Cottage Grove, another at Aston, and the third at Prescott, Wisconsin, to which the Point Douglas church was transferred.

By 1858 these two efficient missionaries, with their able co-laborers, had succeeded in planting thirty churches in the State; but it was not until that year that they were able to gather a Congregational church at St. Paul, which now has a membership of over three hundred persons.

In 1853 the Congregational church of Excelsior, some twenty miles west by south from Minneapolis, was formed. In 1854 another was organized at Winona, a hundred miles below St. Paul, on the Mississippi river. In 1855 a church was formed at Butternut Valley, in the northwest corner of Blue Earth county, a hundred miles or so southeast of St. Paul; and another at Sauk Rapids, in Benton county, some seventy-five miles up the Mississippi from St. Paul; and still another at Anoka, twenty-five or thirty miles above St. Paul, on the Mississippi river.

The next three years saw a rapid increase of Congregational churches in this State, nine bo-

ing organized during 1856, eight in 1857, and eight more in 1858. Since 1870 the increase of our churches has been far beyond any previous experience in that State—possibly, than in any State. Between 1871 and 1878, both years included, no less than sixty-three new churches were added to the Congregational churches of Minnesota; an average of nine every year for seven years. The whole number of our churches in Minnesota, on the 1st of September, 1878, was one hundred and twenty-three; the number of ministers was ninety-nine; and the number of church members, six thousand two hundred and twenty-three.*

The first Association of Congregational ministers in Minnesota was formed at St. Anthony, July 29th, 1853, and embraced six ministers. The Association adopted a thoroughly Calvinistic Confession of Faith and an excellent Constitution and By-Laws. They also appointed a Territorial Committee for the management of the Church-Building Fund. Subsequently, another Ministerial Association was formed in the State; and afterwards, Conferences, local and general, in which the churches are represented by their ministers and by lay delegates chosen for the purpose. At present, there are five local Conferences of churches and one General Conference in the State. The State Conference was originally modelled after

* *Cong'l Year-Book for 1879.*

that of Maine; and the Constitution, Confession of Faith, and Rules and Orders were essentially the same as those of the Maine General Conference.*

Although the Ministerial Associations of the Congregationalists have adopted a concise but very definite Calvinistic Confession of Faith, to which members of the associations are expected to assent; and the General Conference have adopted the same Confession of Faith as the expression of their religious sentiments and the foundation of their union; and every church wishing to unite with the Conference is required to submit its Covenant and Articles to the examination of a committee of the Conference before admission can be obtained; yet no exact uniformity of creeds is required of the churches, except in regard to the fundamentals of religion. Every church forms its own Covenant and shapes its Confession of Faith as, in the exercise of its individual grace and wisdom, it may judge proper.

While, therefore, there is necessarily a great variety in the Confessions of the churches, both in respect to fulness and phraseology, yet it is said "there is a general similarity." †

* *Mr. Hall's MS. Letter; The Congregational Year-Book for 1864 and the Year-Book for 1879.*

† *Rev. Richard Hall.* Mr. Hall, being the agent of the Am. Home Miss. Soc. in Minnesota at the time of writing, enjoyed the best of opportunities for knowing what was true.

Compare the Ministerial Creed, in the *Congl. Year-Book*, 1864.

As everywhere else, Congregationalists in Minnesota have shown their love of learning by their works. From the very beginning they have stood in the front rank among the friends of common school and collegiate education. One of their earliest ministers, the Rev. David Burt (1851), was for several years Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State. Another, the Rev. Gabriel Campbell (1868), is a professor in the State University; and a third, the Rev. James W. Strong (1862), is the president of the first college established in Minnesota, and solely by Congregationalists.

"The Eastern, and particularly the New England element is . . . unquestionably destined to constitute the main staple of the population. It promises, indeed, to predominate here in a more marked and decisive manner than in any Western State yet formed." *

pp. 263-267, with that in the *Minutes of the 23d Cong'l Conference of Minnesota*, 1878.

For the materials of the above sketch of Congregationalism in Minnesota, I am largely indebted to the two earnest and good men, still living, who formed the first Congregational churches in the State—the Rev. Richard Hall and the Rev. Charles Seecombe; who have kindly furnished me with copious manuscript notes of the early history of the denomination in Minnesota. I am also indebted to my old friend and classmate, the Rev. Charles Shedd, who settled in this State at an early date, and to Rev. H. A. Stimson, pastor of the Plymouth Church, Minneapolis.

* Rev. Richard Hall, agent of the Am. Home Miss. Soc. in 1837. *Thirty-First Report*, pp. 83-85.

The State Conference of Congregational Churches of Minnesota, at its annual meeting at Faribault, October 11th, 1866, resolved to found a Christian college, when they were but a few men in number — yea, very few, and strangers in the land; when the whole number of their churches did not exceed sixty, their ministers fifty, and their church members two thousand souls, all told — men, women and children — and these almost all in moderate circumstances, if not absolutely poor. And yet, in the fall of 1867, the embryo college was opened at Northfield, forty-five miles south of St. Paul, and seventy-five miles from the southern boundary of the State. It is beautifully located on a campus of about twenty-five acres, commanding a fine view of Cannon river and the whole surrounding country. It early received the name of "Carleton College," in honor of its most generous benefactor, William Carleton, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who at one time gave the college fifty thousand dollars in money towards a permanent endowment. And it deserves remark, that from this same town of Charlestown came the noble benefaction of £779 17s. 2d. — noble for the time, 1638 — from John Harvard, which gave name and almost life to the oldest and richest Congregational college now in the world.

Carleton College, like most of the Western colleges of recent date, admits both sexes to all its privileges, and on entirely equal terms; and has

a variety of departments and courses of study to meet the wants of the students.

In 1877-78 Carleton College had a president, six male and three female teachers, and two hundred and fifty-four students. The endowment fund of the college amounts to about ninety-five thousand dollars, and its entire investment to one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars; with no indebtedness beyond two or three thousand dollars. This college, though founded and made successful by the intelligence, enterprise, faith and self-denial of Congregationalists in Minnesota, and eminently by the church and people of Northfield, and though distinctively a religious college, yet, so far is it from being sectarian, that it gathers within its walls young men and women of all Christian denominations, and from many different States and Territories.

Just here we are reminded most forcibly of the characteristic likeness of ancient and modern Congregationalists; a likeness, not only in their love of good learning for Christ's sake and his Church, as well as the Commonwealth, but also, and most noticeably, in their early, humble and self-denying efforts to secure this learning for their posterity. The history of Carleton College is, in point of fact, essentially the history of all the Congregational colleges of the West and South. And the self-denying efforts of the Congregational churches to establish these colleges were and are as like the early efforts to establish

Cambridge, and Yale, and Dartmouth and Williams colleges, as though the very same persons had been concerned in the work. But in this general commendation of the founders and humble, self-denying supporters of our Christian colleges, and just now of Carleton College particularly, it would be inexcusable to overlook the abounding liberality and devotion of the Congregational church of Northfield to this enterprise.

Charles M. Goodsell, a deacon of this church, of honored memory, if not absolutely the founder of this college, was one of its earliest, most constant, liberal and efficient friends. It was through him, mainly, that the location of the college was made at Northfield; and that the church was induced to become its mother, loving and cherishing it as her own offspring, and contributing towards its support and endowment a sum but little less than all the other churches in Minnesota together have given.*

This liberal, efficient and enterprising church was formed at Northfield, August 30th, 1856; when churches of any kind were rare in Minnesota; when in nineteen counties, containing forty thousand souls, there was not a single Congregational or Presbyterian church; and when

*The entire contributions to the college by the Minnesota churches and others amounted, in May, 1878, to \$289,861.34. Of this sum the Northfield people had given \$43,259.1; just \$1164.78 less than one-half the entire amount contributed in the State.

the entire population of the Territory did not exceed seventy-five thousand persons.* At its organization it could count but twelve members. But from this humble beginning, it has steadily grown, in numbers and wealth and influence, to the present day, when it has two hundred and eighty-nine members on its roll; and stands the third, in point of numbers, in the State—the Plymouth Congregational Church of Minneapolis, with four hundred and ninety-three members, and the Plymouth Church of St. Paul, with three hundred and eleven members, alone exceeding the Northfield church.†

We have now finished the survey of the Old Northwest Territory, and have even looked over the ancient boundary line, towards the farther West. This survey has, we confess, been much more particular than was originally intended; though after all it has been very cursory, considering the magnitude and the political and religious importance of this field, and the romantic interest which surrounds its early history and settlement.

* *Am. Home Miss. Soc.'s Report* for 1857, pp. 83-85.

† For the facts relating to Carleton College and the Northfield church I am indebted largely to a manuscript letter from the president of the College, the Rev. Dr. James W. Strong; and to sundry printed documents with which he has kindly furnished me, including *Dr. Whiting's Oration* before the College in 1871, *Our Mirror*, a periodical sheet published by the church; *Catalogues*; *Minutes*, etc., etc.

In all the vast territory which lies west and southwest of Minnesota — equal to one-half of the whole United States, and already divided off into seven great States and ten Territories — there are as yet very few Congregationalists except in Kansas, Nebraska, California and Oregon.* Colorado perhaps should be added, in view of its college and enterprise under Congregational direction. To a summary notice of these States we now, therefore, will turn.

* At the rate emigration is going into those States and Territories, however, it will not be long before there will be Congregational history made for them all.

CHAPTER VII.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY.— INDIANA AND ILLINOIS—1787-1870.

By an Ordinance of Congress dated July 13th, 1787, all the country northwest of the Ohio river, to the great lakes and Canada, and east of the Mississippi river, was erected into a single district, and called the "Northwestern Territory." This tract of country was at least six hundred miles long and five hundred wide, and contained about two hundred and forty thousand square miles, or about as many square miles as all New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia contain. The ordinance provided that this immense Territory might be made into not less than three States and not more than five; and that slavery and involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, should be forever excluded from them.*

On this consecrated soil five noble free States have been built up: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Mich-

* This limitation of the number of States to be carved out of the Northwestern Territory was made in order to maintain the balance between the free and the slave States of the old Union. It was the policy and practice of Congress to admit, first, a free State and then a slave State; or *vice versa*.—See Higginson's admirable *History of the U. S. for Young Folks*, *passim*.

igan and Wisconsin; with an aggregate population in 1870 of more than nine millions.

The history of Ohio, the oldest of these States, has been already considered, and to the other four States we will now turn our attention.

INDIANA lies directly west of Ohio, and has the same northern and southern boundaries. Its area is nearly thirty-four thousand square miles, and its population in 1870 was more than a million and six hundred thousand souls.

The French were the earliest permanent settlers here; and at Vincennes a Roman Catholic mission was established as early as 1749. In two or three other places within the Territory there were French colonies as early as 1765. But all attempts to plant English colonies there were opposed by the French previous to the conquest of Canada, in 1763; and subsequently settlements north of the Ohio river were not encouraged by the English government. In June, 1774, Parliament, with this in view, actually extended the boundaries of the Province of Quebec to the Ohio river, so as to include what are now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan; and secured to the French inhabitants of that territory the free exercise of their religion, and to the Catholic clergy all their accustomed dues, rights and privileges, as stipulated at the time of the surrender of Canada to the English.* All

* *See Indiana*, by John B. Dillon, pp. 21, 47, 63-64, 81-82, *Library, Hist. U. S.*, vol. vi, p. 627, ed. 1855.

this served to retard the settlement of this country; so that in 1800, when the Territorial government was erected, Indiana had less than six thousand inhabitants, all told; largely Virginians, or persons attracted by the liberal land grants of Virginia between 1780 and 1787—she claiming at that time all southern Indiana, as well as southern Illinois, as her territory. Before 1783 Virginia had bestowed on actual settlers in Indiana about twenty-six thousand acres of land; and between 1783 and 1787, more than twenty-two thousand additional acres were given away by her. All this served to attract to Indiana a class of men—largely poor adventurers—ill-fitted to be the founders of a well-ordered religious commonwealth.

And then, the law of 1804, enacted by these adventurers, introducing slavery into the Territory, seriously affected the character and prosperity of Indiana, and turned Northern and Eastern emigrants away from its borders. This proved so disadvantageous to the Territory that the law was repealed in December, 1810.*

At the time this law was repealed—ten years after its Territorial government was erected—

* *Espy's Tour in Indiana in 1805*, p. 23.

The Territory of Indiana had been slave territory under the French government, and continued so under the American, until 1787—*History of Wisconsin*. By William R. Smith, President of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, vol. 1, pp. 169-173. Three vols., 8vo. 1864. Only the first and third have appeared.

there were but twenty-four thousand five hundred souls in Indiana. But the next ten years saw an inflow of inhabitants almost without a parallel in all previous history, multiplying the people of the State — six-fold and more — to one hundred and forty-seven thousand and upwards, from nearly or quite every State in the Union, and from almost every foreign country from which there was any emigration at that time. Consequently the settlers were a heterogeneous mass, with manners and customs, sentiments and opinions so diverse as to render a general agreement on social, moral or religious subjects quite out of the question.*

The New England Missionary Societies were early in this field by their agents, Rev. Messrs. Schermerhorn and Mills, who visited the Territory in 1812, and again in 1814. These explorers found the country rapidly filling up with inhabitants; but the people were "in a very destitute state; very ignorant of the doctrines of the gospel, and in many instances without Bibles or any other religious books." In all the Territory they found but one Presbyterian minister, Mr. Scott, living at Vincennes, where he had "valiantly maintained his post" from about 1809. This was the report in November, 1812. In January, 1815, with a 1 increase of ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, there was an increase of one or two Pres-

* *The Panoplist and Missionary Herald*, vol. xvi, pp. 234-26.

byterian ministers in the Territory.* But the people were dependent chiefly on the transient labors of itinerant Baptist and Methodist preachers, of whom Mr. Mills seems to have formed quite a low estimate; though a somewhat distinguished statesman thought that "early Indiana — nay, more, Indiana to-day — owes more, than to all other religious denominations combined," to the early itinerant Methodist preachers.†

The Connecticut Missionary Society, as early as 1816, announced that one of their veteran missionaries, the Rev. Nathan B. Derrow, had recently had his field of labor extended "to the whole of the State of Ohio and to the Indiana and Illinois Territories" — a pretty extensive field, it must be confessed, embracing about one hundred and thirty thousand square miles. In the course of his journey to Jeffersonville, Indiana, which Mr. Derrow began in June, 1816, he planted one church — where, he does not tell us, nor whether it was a Congregational church.‡

In the spring of 1818 Mr. Derrow reported to the Connecticut Missionary Society that he had

* *Panoplist*, etc., ix, 38, 234; xi, 224-32, 276-76; xvi, 224.

† *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*. By Hon. O. H. Smith, pp. 97-100. Cincinnati, 1858.

In 1812 the Baptists had twenty-nine churches, eighteen ordained and four licensed ministers, and 1376 enrolled members. — *Peck's Brief View of Baptists in U. S. Am. Quar. Rev.*, xiv, 43-44.

‡ *Panoplist*, 1816, vol. xii, p. 77; xiii, 80, 133.

then spent sixty-five weeks in the State of Indiana, and had preached to the people two hundred and sixty-one sermons; an average of four sermons a week during the whole time. He reported the additions to the population to be continual and great, though the country was yet thinly settled. "Illiterate and enthusiastic preachers were numerous." He was much distressed by observing the extreme ignorance that prevailed, particularly among the first settlers and their children. In every direction many whole families were to be found without a book of any sort, and unable to read. Many belonged to the hunting class, and consequently combined extreme indigence with extreme ignorance, and were prepared to become an easy prey to the assiduity and address of false teachers.

But yet Mr. Derrow thought that the prospect of improvement was fair and cheering. As the State was passing into the regularity and stability of an independent government, the people of this rougher class were moving off, and the country was receiving accessions of respectable citizens. The inhabitants were growing more sensible of their wants, more attentive to preaching, and more earnest in their solicitations for missionary aid; and the good missionary, "with the most pleasing emotions," anticipated the time when that section of our country would become "a delightful portion of Christendom."^{*}

^{*} *Panoplist*, xiv, 144.

In 1818-19 Mr. Derrow spent thirty weeks more in Indiana and Ohio, and reported an increased attention to gospel ordinances in the Territory, and an increase of ministers.

In June, 1818, the Rev. Orin Fowler received from the Connecticut Missionary Society an appointment to Indiana for a year. His circuit included ten counties, in the middle and eastern parts of the State. In every direction he reported people anxious to hear him preach—though he preached almost daily; many of his hearers, of both sexes, travelling from eight to twenty miles on purpose to hear him.* When he wrote, he had appointments for seven weeks ahead, in almost as many counties; and arrangements to form two new churches. Mr. Derrow, in the course of two years previous to May, 1820, had also formed "several churches," which were increasing at that time; and "notwithstanding the indifference to religion which great multitudes manifested, and the abounding wickedness of many, the moral aspect was less gloomy" than it was in 1816. The Rev. Isaac Reed was also at work in the same great field at the same time, and found small but attentive congregations to hear him preach. The Rev. Ahab Jinks was also commissioned by the society to labor in Indiana, about May, 1820.†

Thus early were New England Christians at work in the "Indiana country." Whether they

* *Panoplist*, xv, 123.

† *Panoplist*, xvi, 224-26.

were all Congregationalists, or what was the polity of the churches organized by them, does not appear. It is most probable, however, that, though the missionaries were Congregationalists and the funds were furnished by Congregationalists, the early churches were organized on the accommodating plan by which they readily became Presbyterian.

The Rev. Merrick A. Jewett, who emigrated from Massachusetts more than forty years ago, organized the first distinctively Congregational church in Indiana, at Terre Haute, in 1834; and in the course of a few years, including 1840, churches were formed at Michigan City, at Orland, at Ontario and at Westchester. These still survive, with an aggregate church membership, in 1878-79, of six hundred souls.

About the year 1845 the "Evangelical Association of the Wabash Valley" was formed by two Congregational clergymen, the Rev. M. A. Jewett and the Rev. Dean Andrews; and by the representatives of the churches of Terre Haute and Marshall. This was a useful and efficient organization. But Congregationalism has not found Indiana a congenial home. Its progress has been slow and far from encouraging. As late as 1854, twenty years after the first church of this order was formed there, and forty years after our first missionaries began to work in the Territory, our *Year-Book* could report but sixteen Congregational churches in Indiana, in a population of a million souls.

The General Association of Congregational churches and ministers of Indiana was formed at Indianapolis, March 13th, 1858; first, under the name of the Indiana Conference of Congregational Churches. Seven churches only were represented by their pastors and delegates at the first meeting; though the whole number of Congregational churches in the State at that time was about thirty-two. But they were widely scattered and were generally small and feeble. Five years later, in 1863, the Association had to confess that Congregationalism in the State of Indiana was still in its infancy, and that theirs was the smallest State Association in the Union. There were then but twenty-four Congregational churches in the State, several of which were not connected with the Association, which then had but twelve ministerial members.* The number of church members reported by the Association was nine hundred and eleven. In 1869 the Association reported that the preceding year had been one of unusual prosperity, four new churches having been organized, and six ministerial brethren having been added to the number of Congregational preachers in the State, while there had been an aggregate increase of three hundred members to their churches; making the whole number of their communicants nearly fourteen hundred — 1,392.

* *Minutes of the Gen. Assoc. of Congl Chhs. and Ministers of Indiana, 1863, p. 7.*

The report for 1874 does not indicate much progress or prosperity. Indeed, the official report of the denomination that year makes the number of our churches actually less than it was five years previous. This resulted from the fact that five churches in Illinois, Michigan and Ohio, which belonged to the General Association of Indiana, were that year numbered with the churches of their respective States, and that three other churches had been dropped from the general list.

The present condition of Congregationalism in Indiana is but little better than it was twenty years ago. In 1860 we had twenty-nine churches, and an aggregate of nine hundred and fifty-six church members, in a population of a million and a third; while the Presbyterians had three hundred and seventy-five churches; the Baptists, some six hundred; and the Methodists, a thousand or more. To-day (1878-79), in a population of about two millions, we number but twenty-nine churches, with an aggregate church membership of sixteen hundred and eighty; a meagre show, to be sure! and when contrasted with the prosperous condition of Congregationalism in bordering States — Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, portions of the old Northwest Territory — so insignificant as to necessitate the conclusion that the explanation must be sought in the general character of the original and earliest settlers of Indiana.

ILLINOIS.

The French Jesuits, Marquette and Joliet, were the discoverers of the Illinois country. Embarking in canoes at Green Bay, they made their way up the Fox river, to the portage between that river and the Wisconsin, carried their canoes across the dividing land, descended to the Mississippi, and followed the "Father of Waters" down to the Arkansas. On their return, they left the Mississippi just above the mouth of the Missouri, and followed the Illinois river diagonally through the country to Chicago, at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. Thus, the valley of the Mississippi, from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, was explored by these French missionaries. This was in 1673. These explorations prepared the way for French settlements at Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, midway between the mouth of the Missouri and that of the Ohio river; at Prairie du Rocher, twelve or fourteen miles up the river; at Cahokia, a few miles still further up the Mississippi, and at one or two other places. But these settlements never prospered much while under French régime. They fell into the hands of the English on the conquest of Canada, in 1763, and came into the United States — with all the territory between the Ohio and the lakes, east of the Mississippi river — at the close of the Revolution. In 1809 Illinois was erected into a distinct government, and embraced all the country between the Wa-

bash and the Mississippi, and northward from the Ohio river for two hundred and eighty miles ; an area of fifty-five thousand four hundred miles — nearly thirty-five and a half million acres. Two thirds of this vast territory is prairie, and much of it inexhaustibly rich. Three noble rivers bound it on as many sides — the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Wabash ; while the beautiful Illinois, navigable for nearly three hundred miles, flows through the centre of the territory nearly its entire length, from northeast to southwest ; and the Kaakaskia, another navigable river, nearly as long as the Illinois, makes a water-course from the centre of the territory to the Mississippi.

In 1818 Illinois was admitted as a State to the Union ; and from that time, and, indeed, for some years previous, the increase of its population was something marvellous. In the year 1800, the entire White population was only two hundred and fifteen souls ; but in 1810 these hundreds had grown to more than twelve thousands. It was not, however, until the close of the war of 1812-14 that this Territory was fully thrown open to settlers, and the great rush into this fertile country began. In the course of six years (in 1820) fifty-five thousand persons had found homes in Illinois ; and in 1830, one hundred and seven thousand had been added to the fifty-five thousand ; and in 1840, these thousands had multiplied until they amounted to four hundred and seventy-six thousand souls. During the next ten years (1840-50) this im-

mense population nearly doubled; and in 1860 it was one million seven hundred and twelve thousand, nearly. In 1870 Illinois had a population of more than two and a half millions; raising its position, in fifty years, from the twenty-fourth, in comparative population, to the fourth State in the Union. These figures, dry though they may be, furnish the most instructive data by which to estimate the importance of the State into which Congregationalism was finally introduced, and which now contains more Congregational churches than any other State in the Union except Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York.

Congress made liberal provision for the education of the people of this territory, by setting apart one thirty-sixth part of every township for the support of schools; and three per cent. additional of the net proceeds of all the public lands in the State owned by the United States for the encouragement of literature; one sixth of which was exclusively for the support of a college or university.*

The earliest notice of Illinois as a missionary field is found in Mr. Samuel J. Mills's report to the Massachusetts and Connecticut Missionary Societies, in 1812. He says: "In the Illinois Territory, containing more than twelve thousand people, there is no Presbyterian or Congregational

* *Holmes' Ann.*, 11, 486-87.

minister. There are a number of good people in the Territory who are anxious to have such ministers among them. They likewise wish to be remembered by Bible and Religious Tract Societies." *

There were at that time five or six Methodist preachers in several circuits, and about six hundred members in that connection; also, five Baptist churches, containing about one hundred and twenty members.† And these were all the religious instrumentalities in operation among a rapidly growing population.

In 1814-15, Mr. Mills, with Mr. Smith, agents of the New England missionary societies, was again exploring and preaching in this Territory, forming Bible societies, and working generally for the religious improvement of the inhabitants. November 7th, 1814, these agents wrote: "Many portions of this country [Indiana and Illinois] were never before visited, as we can learn, by Presbyterian or Congregational clergymen; and yet, a great proportion of the inhabitants were originally Presbyterians. In the two northern counties of the Illinois Territory, it is said, a majority of the heads of families are Baptist and

* *Panoplist*, ix, 234, anno 1812; and *Panoplist*, x, 281-83.

† The Baptists claim to have had, in 1812, seven churches, five ordained and three licensed ministers; the oldest of these dating back to 1793 and 1796. — See Rev. J. M. Peck's "Brief View of the Baptist Interest in the U. S." *Am. Quar. Rev.*, xiv, 43.

Methodist professors; and yet, a Methodist clergyman informed us that almost all the people were educated Presbyterians, and would have been so still had they not been grievously neglected by their Eastern brethren."

From Shawneetown, January 12th, 1815, Messrs. Mills and Smith wrote again: "We have, with the blessing of God upon our exertions, completed a prosperous tour through the Territories, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. . . . There are many persons here who have heretofore been members either of Congregational or Presbyterian churches, and who regret, with many a heart-ache and many a tear, the loss of former privileges, and are looking with anxiety towards the rising sun for some one to come to them who shall again stand and feed them in the name of Christ, and break to them the bread of life." . . . Of Illinois Territory they say: "We did not find any place in this Territory where a copy of the Scriptures could be obtained. . . . There is no Presbyterian minister, either stationed or laboring as a missionary, in this Territory." *

In 1819-20 the Rev. Orin Fowler spent a year

* *Panoplist*, xi, 226-33. See also pp. 276-78.

These brethren seem sometimes to use the terms "Presbyterian" and "Congregational" as equivalent, if not exactly synonymous; so that it is not always easy to determine exactly what they mean by the terms, except that they did not apply them to Baptists or Methodists. No doubt many of these neglected settlers in Illinois were New England Congregationalists.

in Indiana and Illinois. He tells us that the increase of population there had probably few parallels on the globe; the inhabitants being from nearly all the States in the Union and from the different nations of Europe. The Rev. Nathan B. Derrow was travelling and preaching in the same section of country at the same time; and the Rev. Isaac Reed labored a short time in the same destitute field. All these were employed by the Connecticut Missionary Society.* In 1822 this society had two missionaries at work in Illinois, giving the people sixty-five weeks' ministerial service in the course of the year; and the same society continued to send its missionaries to Illinois until it relinquished the work to the hands of the American Home Missionary Society, about 1827.

The Connecticut Society at that time was supporting two missionaries in Illinois and three in Indiana; in both of which States the same missionaries often labored interchangeably. In 1827-28, the American Home Missionary Society employed three missionaries in Illinois and nine in Indiana; the next year it had eight in Illinois and twelve in Indiana; and in 1829-30 the society increased its missionaries in Illinois to twelve, who had charge of fifteen congregations; and in Indiana, to eighteen, who had the oversight of twenty-six missionary stations.

* *Panoplist*, xvi, 224, anno 1830.

But, though the Congregationalists were the earliest Protestant explorers and laborers in this important field, yet for nearly twenty years they were content to be sowers, while other men reaped that whereon they had bestowed no labor; and, what was more, these sowers were ready to rejoice together with the reapers, though not one solitary sheaf reached their own particular garner.

From about 1812, when missionary work began in Illinois, to 1833, not a single Congregational church was organized there; all were Presbyterian, even though the members might be all Congregationalists—as were the original members of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago. Though all Congregationalists, they were yet formed into a Presbyterian church by the Rev. Jeremiah Porter; not because he or they preferred that polity, but because they had been made to believe that only Presbyterianism was adapted to that latitude.

The Rev. William Carter, a Congregational missionary, who went to Illinois in the autumn of 1833, tells us: “I had no other thought than that of laboring entirely in the Presbyterian church. The Presbyterians had, as they claimed, the ground; and I had no other wish than that they should retain it exclusively, so far as Congregationalism was concerned. But one of the first things I found after coming to the State was, that the Congregationalists from New England claimed the right to form churches of their own

order, where they could do so without interfering with Presbyterians. . . . 'This claim seemed so obviously just that I could but at once accede to it and adopt it.' * From about this time a change crept slowly over the ecclesiastical face of the State. It came to be very generally understood that, wherever a church was to be organized, a fair majority vote of the members should decide the question of its polity.

The first Congregational church in Illinois — that of Princeton — dates back to 1831. It was not, however, formed in the State, but emigrated, after the manner of several of the early churches of New England, to the place of its final abode, an organized body. It was composed of eighteen members, originally from Hampshire, Hampden and Franklin counties, Massachusetts, and from Putney, Vermont, who were formed into a church at Northampton, Massachusetts, March 23d, 1831, and then came in a body to the vicinity of Princeton in June of the same year. Their location in the northern interior of the State exposed them so much to the depredations of the Indians that eight of their number soon left them for more secure homes; but the remaining ten righteous and fearless ones immediately began their church life with their colonial life. Though

* *Memorial of the Congregational Ministers and Churches of Illinois Association.* Discourse by Rev. William Carter, pp. 6-7.

destitute of a pastor, they established and maintained meetings for prayer and religious conference; and for the living preacher they substituted the reading of evangelical sermons, and thus maintained their religious life and prosperity until they were able to secure a pastor, the Rev. L. Farnham, in the fall of 1833.

The first Congregational church which was actually organized in the State of Illinois was at Mendon, in Adams county, on the western borders of the State, near the Mississippi river. This was in February, 1833. The church was formed by the Rev. Solomon Hardy, in the cabin of Deacon J. B. Chittenden. The second Congregational church was organized July 3d, 1833, at Naperville, Du Page county, in the northeast part of the State, not far from the shores of Lake Michigan and the city of Chicago. The third was organized October 10th, 1833, at Quincy, Adams county, on the Mississippi river; now a handsome, flourishing city of thirty-five thousand inhabitants. The church at Quincy, strange to say, was originally a Presbyterian church, and after about three years' experience chose to be reorganized, Congregationally. The church at Jacksonville, near the geographical centre of the State, and now one of the most beautiful towns in the State, distinguished for its elegant public buildings and for the number of its charitable and educational institutions, was formed by President Sturtevant and the Rev. Mr. Carter, December 15th, 1833,

and consisted of thirty members. Thus, in the course of a single year four Congregational churches were formed in a State where but one existed at the commencement of the year ; * and these five Congregational churches are still living and flourishing.

In 1878-79 Princeton Church reported a membership of two hundred and sixty-five souls ; Mendon, of one hundred and thirty ; Naperville, of one hundred and two ; Quincy, of two hundred and eighty-nine ; and Jacksonville, of two hundred and one.

The work of forming Congregational churches, being thus fairly begun, went bravely on. In 1884 five churches were formed ; during the next five years, twenty-nine were added to the list ; and in ten years from the time that the first Congregational church was organized in 1833, sixty churches had been constituted ; making, in all, sixty-one churches of our order in Illinois at the close of the year 1843. At the end of the year 1849, there were at least seventy-four Congregational churches in Illinois.

The Congregational Convention at Michigan City, Indiana, just on the borders of Illinois, in 1846, and especially the Albany Convention, in 1852, gave a powerful impetus to Congregationalism in Illinois, and indeed in all the Northwest.

* See Mr. Carter's *Commemorative Discourse*, pp. 6, 8 ; *Minutes of the General Association of Ill.*, 1808, p. 25.

The first Congregational church of Chicago was not organized until May 22d, 1851. This was twenty years after the founding of Chicago, when it had a population of more than thirty thousand souls, and three Presbyterian churches, formed largely of Congregationalists; and even then, so thoroughly were New England people imbued with the conviction that the interests of evangelical religion required them to sacrifice their personal preferences regarding church polity, that it required an act of arbitrary power to drive them of Chicago out of Presbytery. It came to pass on this wise: Forty-two of the sixty-eight members of the Third Presbyterian Church of Chicago, being very much dissatisfied with the action of the General Assembly in 1850, on the slavery question, in an unpresbyterian and irregular manner voted that, until the policy of the Assembly should be distinctly changed, they would stand aloof from all meetings of Presbytery, Synod or Assembly; and thus free themselves from all responsibility for the doings of these ecclesiastical bodies. The Presbytery of Chicago pronounced this action of the church contumacious, and required them to rescind their vote. This the church refused to do. Whereupon the Presbytery proceeded at once, without any trial of the church or its individual members, to declare the forty-two persons who voted the obnoxious resolution cut off from the church by their own action, and ordered their names erased

from the church roll: a proceeding as irregular and unpresbyterian as was the action of the church itself. Hereupon the excinded members proceeded at once to call a Congregational council and obtain a recognition as the First Congregational Church of Chicago.*

From this beginning, the church has struggled onward against many prejudices and serious hindrances, until now it stands confessedly among the very largest, most enterprising and influential churches, not of the State or the West solely, but of the denomination. In 1878-79 its membership was reported at eleven hundred and ninety-three. But this is only a fragment of the story. In 1851 it was necessary to send from twenty-five to forty miles to gather a small Congregational council to recognize this church. In 1876, there were twelve Congregational churches within the bounds of that city alone; and in its immediate suburbs there were sixteen more, making twenty-eight of our churches in and around Chicago. In 1853 the Chicago Congregational Association numbered four churches; in 1876 it numbered thirty-four. During these same eventful years (1851-76) one hundred and sixty-three Congregational churches were gathered in Illinois; and fifteen years after the Presbyterians withdrew from the American Home Missionary Society,

* See *Quarter Centennial of First Cong'l Church of Chicago*, May 21st and 22d, 1876, Rev. Dr. Goodwin's Sermon.

that society had set up eighty-five Congregational churches and had built one hundred and twenty-four houses of worship in Illinois; and, taking the whole Western field, our churches, in the course of twenty-five years from 1851, multiplied from five hundred to sixteen hundred.*

In 1859 the *Year-Book* reported two hundred and one Congregational churches in Illinois. In 1868 the report was two hundred and twenty-seven Congregational churches, two hundred and twenty-five ministers, and sixteen thousand six hundred and ninety-two church members in Illinois. In 1878-79 there were two hundred and forty-one churches, twenty-two thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven church members, and two hundred and thirty-one Congregational ministers in the State; and a church expenditure for the year, of nearly four hundred thousand dollars; and church property—meeting-houses, chapels and parsonages—to the value of nearly two millions of dollars—\$1,715,804.

This exhibit gives Illinois the fourth place among all the Congregational States of the Union—precisely the same relative denominational rank that it holds for its aggregate population among the thirty-seven States and the ten Territories of the United States.

In 1844 a Congregational General Association

* Rev. J. E. Roy, D.D., in *Quarter-Centennial of First Church of Chicago*, pp. 60, 61.

was formed by the churches and ministers of the State, and with it are now connected twelve local Associations; while two other churches, on the border of the State, are connected with Indiana.

The large provision made for educational purposes in Illinois has already been referred to. That these appropriations have not been squandered, appears from the last census report. The State then (1870) stood fourth in the Union for the number of its schools and for the income from taxation and public lands; while it ranked second (New York being first) for the income received for school purposes, including tuition, which income reached \$3,689,930.

The Congregationalists of Illinois—as in every other State occupied by them—have always manifested a deep interest in education. They have a joint interest with the Presbyterians in Jacksonville and Knox colleges; and Wheaton College, so far as it is denominational, is under the direction of Congregational government and instruction.

The question of a supply of ministers for the rapidly multiplying churches of the Northwest was early and seriously considered by the leading men of the Congregational churches of that region. The first action taken in this behalf* by any State body was at a meeting of the General

* *Minutes Gen'l Assoc. Mich.*, 1863, p. 10.

Association of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, May 31st, 1853. The subject was introduced by the Rev. L. Smith Hobart, then of Union City, and the outline of a plan of a theological seminary was presented at the next meeting, 1854, having the essential features of the institution now in successful operation at Chicago. The next State action was by the Iowa General Association — held at Davenport, June 7th, 1854 — on presentation of the Michigan plan by the delegate of that body, Rev. H. L. Hammond. He there met the Rev. Stephen Peet, from Illinois, who had come on purpose to talk over the matter privately with the brethren of that State. He came as the representative of a number of ministers and laymen, who had been together once or twice to consult upon this subject. The Association heartily endorsed the object. These simultaneous movements led to a convention in Chicago, June 12th, 1854, and another, September 26th of the same year, consisting of clerical and lay delegates from the Congregational churches in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Missouri. This convention resolved upon immediate measures to establish a theological seminary; appointed a Board of Directors and also of Visitors, and took measures to procure an Act of Incorporation by the Legislature, which was granted Feb. 15th, 1855. The Rev. Stephen Peet was the first general agent of the Board; who deceased March 21st, 1855, soon after he had entered upon his work. The Board of

Directors met March 27th, 1855, accepted the charter, adopted a constitution, chose an executive committee, and appointed the Rev. A. S. Kedzie general agent.

The General Convention of Wisconsin took action in relation to a theological seminary in 1854, but insisted that it should be on the Union basis. The General Association of Illinois seems not to have entertained the subject until after the act of incorporation in 1855.

The seminary was opened for instruction, October, 1858, with twenty-eight students. The academic year is divided into two terms—the Lecture term and the Reading term; a vacation of six weeks intervening. The Lecture term is devoted to attendance upon the regular exercises of the seminary. The Reading term is intended to be passed by the student under the supervision of some Christian pastor, under whose care he may pursue the course of study prescribed by the Faculty, and at the same time acquaint himself with the details and practical duties of pastoral life.* Fifty-eight students were members of the seminary during the year 1868–69. In 1879 it had forty students. It has six professors, besides lecturers. The assets of the institution were \$259,291.02, March 25th, 1869.

The Constitution of this seminary provides†

* Catalogue, 1867–68, pp. 10, 11.

† *Proceedings of the Triennial Convention of the Northwest*, 1868, p. 5.

that in the year 1858, and every third year thereafter, it shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to call a convention, consisting of the ministers and delegates of the Congregational churches in the various Northwestern States and Territories engaged in the support of the seminary. In accordance with this provision, a convention was called, and met at Chicago, October 20th, 1858, having delegates from Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri and Minnesota. This convention appoints the Board of Directors, consisting of twenty-four, and the Board of Visitors, consisting of eight. It hears reports from these Boards, also reports on "Library," "Buildings" and other topics pertaining to the interests of the seminary, and to some extent gives attention to the general interests of the Congregational churches in the region represented. The successive conventions have been largely attended. Each church is entitled to one delegate and its minister as its representatives.

NOTE.—I am much indebted to Dr. Langworthy, Secretary of the American Congregational Association, for what relates to the colleges and the theological seminary in which Illinois Congregationalists are specially interested; and also for much assistance in collecting data relating to the early Congregational churches in Illinois and other Western States.

Illinois College, at Jacksonville, Morgan county, some sixty miles east of the Mississippi, and one third that distance from the Illinois river, was founded in 1829, and chartered in 1836. It has about \$135,000 productive fund, and libraries containing 11,000 volumes. It has a classical and scientific course, and had

twelve professors and instructors in 1879. Connected with the college are the Whipple Academy and the Jacksonville Business College. The whole number of students in all the departments in 1875-76 was 857 — *Cyclopædia*.

Knox College, at Galesburg, in Knox county, some seventy-five miles north of Jacksonville, was founded in 1838 and fully organized in 1841. Its productive funds amount to about \$110,000; its libraries contain nearly or quite 7,000 volumes; and it has cabinets of natural history. It comprises a college, a ladies' seminary, and an academy. It has a classical and a scientific course, and in 1875-76 had twelve instructors and three hundred and twenty-five students.

Wheaton College, at Wheaton, in the centre of Du Page county, some twenty-five miles due west from Chicago, was organized in 1858, and chartered in 1860. It has buildings, grounds and apparatus valued at \$100,000; and productive funds amounting to \$30,000. It embraces a classical and ladies' collegiate course, preparatory courses, an English course, instruction in music, drawing, painting and commercial branches. It had seventeen teachers and two hundred and thirteen students in 1875-76.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY — MICHIGAN, 1800-1879 — WISCONSIN, 1821-1879.

MICHIGAN, the Lake Country of the Indians, may fairly be regarded as the most interesting, if not the most important, portion of the old Northwestern Territory. It is the largest of the five States which were carved out of that Territory, having an area of more than fifty-six thousand four hundred square miles. It is nearly surrounded by the largest connected body of fresh water on the globe; having on three sides, Lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron and Michigan, and the great inland sea, Superior; which afford a navigable sea-coast for Michigan of more than a thousand miles in extent. It is rich in forests and in minerals, particularly copper; furnishing single masses weighing thousands of pounds. It has marsh and prairie lands of inexhaustible richness. It has highlands, and it has mountains rising two thousand feet above the sea level. It has numerous rivers—not long nor large, but rapid, and with frequent falls for mill-seats. It has, in short, nearly everything to entice and support a large population. It has also some special beauty-spots, to be found in no other American State in such perfection and abundance. Its "Oak Open-

ings" are indeed something wonderfully beautiful; being natural parks, covered with verdure and variegated with flowers; entirely free from bushes and undergrowth, and adorned with stately oak trees, standing, as if planted by human hands, from ten to sixty feet apart.

Such are some of the natural attractions of Michigan. And then, its position along the borders of Canada, from which it is separated only by narrow straits and narrower rivers; and the fact that it has within its limits the most important strategical and commercial points, for a thousand miles or more, between the two countries — all add greatly to its importance, and make its early history one of special interest.

A country like Michigan could not, of course, escape the notice of the enterprising French explorers and missionaries, who established themselves in Canada early in the seventeenth century. Accordingly we find these men, soon after the settlement of Quebec and Montreal, pushing their way into this attractive country. The point where the city of Detroit now stands seems to have been visited by them as early as 1610; and soon after the middle of that century, trading posts were established at Detroit, between Lakes Erie and Huron; at Mackinaw, between Huron and Michigan; at Sault de Sainte Marie, on the strait, between Lakes Superior and Huron; and at Green Bay, on the northwestern end of Lake

Michigan — all important, commanding commercial and military points. By these several posts, easily reached by water from Canada, the French were able to control, not only the trade of that vast country for a thousand miles along the lakes — that in furs being immensely profitable* — but also to influence very greatly, if not absolutely to control, the numerous Indian tribes around. But, to do this, they relied not on their military power alone, but largely on their missions, which went everywhere with their traders and soldiers into the wilderness. Thus, for a hundred years and more, the French traders and soldiers and missionaries spread their influence over the territory of the Northwest, and cultivated the favor of its savage inhabitants. But as the English settlements multiplied and extended along the Atlantic coast, and began to stretch into the interior of the country, the French gradually developed their grand scheme for confining the English substantially to the Atlantic coasts, by means of French posts and little colonies, which were established all along the valley of the Mississippi, from the great lakes to New Orleans. In furtherance of this scheme, the various Indian tribes of the Northwest were

* Schoolcraft (*Expedition through Upper Mississippi* in 1822) tells us that at one time an outfit of six bales of goods, worth about \$2,000, bought ninety-six packs of beaver, of ninety pounds each, worth about *four dollars* a pound; that is, \$2,000 worth of goods were exchanged for \$24,000 worth of furs.—*Bloss' Gazetteer*, p. 179.

encouraged and aided in marauding expeditions against the frontier English settlements. This was continued until the conquest of Canada, in 1763, which broke forever the power of France in North America, and gave to England the undisputed right to all the vast country claimed by the French in the Northwest—a territory equal in extent to all the United States and Mexico combined.

But, though the nominal possession of this territory was yielded to the English, the real possession of the country northwest of the Ohio river was yet to be fought for with the numerous and powerful Indian tribes which occupied it and which never cordially assented to the dominion of the English. Led by such men as Pontiac and Tecumseh—wise as well as brave warriors—these tribes were thoroughly subdued only after fierce and costly wars.

These wars most seriously interfered with the settlement and prosperity of Michigan. In fact, she had no enduring peace until the close of the war with Great Britain, in 1812-14. In 1817-18 a portion of these fertile and beautiful lands were surveyed and brought into market; and in 1819, when the first steamboat, "Walk-in-the-water," passed from Lake Erie to Mackinaw, the country was regarded as fully opened to settlers. And after the Erie Canal was opened, in 1825, and the Territory was brought into direct water communication with the Atlantic seaboard, the current

of emigrants from New England and Western New York became strong and deep, and continued so for many years, giving to Michigan a very large percentage of New England people, and people of New England origin from western New York; so that, in 1838, it was estimated that nearly two thirds of the population of the State were composed of New England people or their direct descendants.

Until 1810 there was scarcely any growth to the population of Michigan. But between that date and 1830, its growth exceeded everything before witnessed in this country, being at the rate of more than two hundred and fifty per cent. in ten years; while Illinois, which stood next, increased at a little more than one hundred and eighty-five per cent.* From 1830, when the population was thirty-one thousand six hundred, in round numbers, to 1840, the increase was far greater than even this; being nearly seven fold, giving a population to the State of two hundred and twelve thousand and more. In 1874 this vast population had swollen to more than a million and a third.

This sketch of Michigan will prepare the reader to appreciate the history of Congregationalism in that State. In a territory abounding in natural advantages, within almost the very same parallels of latitude as northern New York and New Eng-

* *Ency. Americana*, Art. U. S. Statistics.

land, with a comparatively homogeneous population, it will be interesting to see how the religion of the Pilgrims fared in this Lake State of our Union.

The first Congregational minister to preach in Michigan was David Bacon; and the next, the Rev. Joseph Badger, a missionary from Connecticut, whose special field of labor was Ohio. Mr. Bacon was sent out by the Connecticut Missionary Society in August, 1800, "to travel among the Indian tribes south and west of Lake Erie, to explore their situation and learn their feelings with respect to Christianity, and, so far as he [had] opportunity, to teach them its doctrines and duties."* It seemed to have been the expectation of the good men who commissioned Mr. Bacon as their messenger to the heathen, that he should "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ"—even greater hardness in some things than the first preachers of the gospel had to bear; for they seldom went alone. But afoot and alone, with no more luggage than he could carry on his person, went their first missionary to the Northwestern Indians, August 8th, 1800; and that, too, on a salary of one dollar and ten cents a day. By September 4th he had reached Buf-

* *Conn. Evangelical Magazine*, July, 1800; in Dr. Leonard Bacon's *Life of David Bacon*, published in *Cong'l Quar.*, vol. xviii.

falo, four hundred miles from Hartford, having found providential opportunities to ride about one hundred and fifty miles. By the 11th of September he had reached Detroit, and on the 29th of September he was at Harson's Island, in the River St. Clair, forty miles beyond Detroit and in the immediate neighborhood of Indians, some of whose chiefs encouraged him to hope to be received by their people and allowed to preach and teach among them; but yet, they must have "a council" before any definite decision could be had. From thence he returned to Detroit, and there found two Presbyterian ministers, sent out by the Ohio Presbytery on the same general errand which had brought him to the Territory. Mr. Bacon readily imparted to them all the information which he had collected, and they returned home, depending on him for further intelligence.

Mr. Bacon returned to Connecticut about the middle of December, 1800, to report progress to the Missionary Society, secure their resolution to establish an Indian mission in Michigan, get married, be appointed missionary and ordained to the work; and all this he actually accomplished, and was ready to start on his return journey by the 11th of February, 1801.

Detained on the way by the sudden breaking up of sleighing, he spent five Sabbaths in East Bloomfield, New York, preaching to the little Congregational church which was formed there in 1796; and then went on his way, preaching as he went, until he reached Detroit, May 9th, 1801.

Here he began directly to preach to the White inhabitants of the post, and continued so to do as long as he remained there — certainly until March, 1802. In addition to this, he and his wife engaged in school-keeping; while they devoted all the time they could get to the acquisition of the Ojibway language. But the inhabitants of Detroit were largely English, Scotch, Irish and French, "all of whom hated the Yankees most cordially;" and no inconsiderable proportion of them hated New England theology quite as cordially. Those who had any religious tendencies were particularly offended with Mr. Bacon's refusal to baptize all children offered, whether or not their parents were professed Christians; so he soon lost favor with the gay and free religionists of the place, and his congregations dwindled and his schools fell off. Four or five Catholic priests in the neighborhood doubtless contributed their influence to prevent the new preacher from gaining any hold on the people.

After patient waiting and repeated efforts, Mr. Bacon became at length convinced that nothing could be done for the Indians near Detroit. They told him that his religion was very good and would do for White people, but would not do at all for Indians. So, in the spring of 1802 he moved to Mackinac — Mackinaw or Michilimackinac — an island in Lake Huron, three hundred miles and more from Detroit, and the most remote military and trading post in the Northwestern Territory.

Around this post the Indians were quite numerous and more accessible ; and he was encouraged to hope for ultimate success in his mission. He remained at and about Mackinaw until August, 1804, endeavoring to secure a position among the Indians ; but all in vain. They gave him good words, but no chance to do them any good ; and he finally came to the conclusion that the only way to reach the Indians with Christian influences was to lay out a township and draw Indians into it, one by one, and there instruct them in all that pertains to Christianity and civilization. But the Connecticut Society, becoming alarmed at the probable cost of such an enterprise, and apprehensive of Mr. Bacon's unfitness to manage financially such an undertaking, recalled him first to the Western Reserve, Ohio, and then to Connecticut to give an account of his mission, and particularly of his large expenditures ; his latest drafts in the meantime being allowed to be protested. This imputation of dishonesty stirred his spirit to its depths, and in a few days he stood before his employers — having walked through November rain and wind and snow and frost, all the way from Ohio to Hartford, Connecticut — prepared to make a triumphant vindication of his integrity, and his fidelity to his Master's service. Though immediately reinstated in the confidence of the trustees and in the service of the society, Mr. Bacon did not continue long in their employ ; but after about a year devoted himself to the work of

founding a New England colony in the township of Tallmadge, Ohio. Of this he became the first settler, in July, 1807; and there he organized the first Congregational church, in January, 1809. The undertaking, though finally successful, caused the early and premature death of the undertaker, by the pecuniary embarrassments in which it involved him.*

No church was organized by Mr. Bacon in Michigan, though he labored there more than three years; and knowing, as we do, the character of the man, it cannot be doubted that his failure to organize a Congregational church in that Territory was simply because the proper materials could not be found within its limits.

After Mr. Bacon left Michigan, in 1804, no Congregational minister is known to have visited the Territory for about twenty years; and so far as missionary work among either the Indians or the Whites was concerned, the Territory does not seem to have received any attention either from the Congregationalists or the Presbyterians for that entire period. In 1823 the United Foreign Missionary Society established a mission at Mackinaw, and placed the Rev. William M. Ferry in charge. In 1826 this mission was transferred to the American Board, but remained under Mr. Ferry's care until about 1834. In 1836 the mission was discontinued.

* See Dr. Leonard Bacon's account of his father, in *Cong'l Quar.*, 1876; and *The Tallmadge Semi-Centennial Commemoration*, June 24th, 1867.

At the time Mr. Ferry went to Michigan, there were probably a few Baptist churches and ministers and some Methodist societies and preachers in the Territory; very few, however, of either.* Though the Mackinaw missionary was the only resident Presbyterian or Congregational minister in Michigan in 1823, it is not unlikely that some transient minister may have visited the Territory and formed the church at Ypsilanti and the one at Pontiac, which were in existence in 1824, though without pastors. In the third report of the United Domestic Missionary Society, for 1824-25, we find the following: "Michigan is opening a field for domestic missions, fertile as its own fallow ground. That Territory contains, probably, fourteen thousand inhabitants, and but one Presbyterian minister, who is our missionary." That missionary was the Rev. Isaac W. Ruggles; not a Presbyterian by any means, but a good Congregationalist. He graduated from Yale College in 1814, and studied with President Dwight. He went to Michigan in July, 1824; being first commissioned by the United Domestic Missionary Society, and afterwards by the American Home Missionary Society.

* The first Baptist church in Michigan was formed in 1824. In 1831 this denomination had but one association, two ministers, five churches and one hundred and eighty-seven communicants. At the same date, the Methodists had one district, eleven preachers and six hundred and seventy-six members.—*Am. Quart. Reg.*, III, 224. In 1834 the Baptists had about fifty churches in Michigan.—*Am. Quart. Reg.*, XIV, 181.

In the course of the two following years, three more missionaries were commissioned for Michigan, namely: Rev. William Page, October 24th, 1826, for Ann Arbor; Rev. Eric Prince, for Monroe and Oakland counties, about November 1st, 1826; and Rev. Ira Dunning, for Farmington, Oakland county, October 10th, 1826; making four missionaries in the Territory in 1826-27. The number was increased to five in 1828-29. In 1830 there were ten missionaries of the American Home Missionary Society laboring in Michigan, in fourteen different places. In 1831 both missionaries and stations were increased by two, making twelve missionaries and sixteen stations in the Territory; and there must have been as many as twelve or fifteen churches organized by these missionaries before the close of 1832.* But though some of these missionaries were Congregationalists, and many of the men and women whom they formed into churches were of the same faith and order, yet, with two or three exceptions, the churches were Presbyterian, and were swept at once into a Presbytery, which was formed at Detroit, in 1830, for this express purpose.

In the organization of churches, Congregation-

* There were missionary stations in Michigan between 1825 and 1832 and probably churches at Ann Arbor, Rochester, Romeo, Ypsilanti, Tecumseh, Monroe, Nankin, Pontiac, Southfield, Dexter, Boardley's Prairie, Gull Prairie, Marshall, Sault de Sainte Marie, Grand Blanc and Lima.

alists, however numerous, were expected to yield to their Presbyterian brethren, that they might thus preserve peace and good-fellowship in their respective communities. This continued until, at length, some earnest Congregational ministers went into the Territory, and insisted that all the yielding should not be done by one party, and that often the stronger party.*

The oldest Congregational church in Michigan is at Rochester, twenty-eight miles north of Detroit. This was formed by the Rev. Isaac W. Ruggles, July, 1827; four men and their wives and two single women constituting the original membership.†

For twelve or more years this church had no meeting-house, and worshipped from house to house among its members; and for much of the time it had no pastor or stated supply. Their first pastor was installed in February, 1831, and remained two years; then they were destitute for three years; then had a minister for one year, and

* The Rev. John D. Pierce, in his sketch of Congregationalism in Michigan, gives a striking illustration of this matter.

He says: "In 1836 a church near Adrian was formed, consisting of twenty five members. The question of church polity was discussed, and it was found that all but one wished to make it Congregational. That one urged Presbyterianism; and to gratify him the Presbyterian form was adopted. And so in many other cases."—See *Congregational Quarterly*, vol. 11 (1860), p. 192.

† *Semi-Centennial Discourse*, July 11th, 1877, by the pastor, Rev. Charles O. Brown.

another for three years; and not till 1849 did they have a pastor who staid so many as six years with them; and up to 1876, when their present pastor* was settled, the church had had twenty different ministers. These frequent ministerial changes have been a most serious hindrance to the growth and prosperity of this church; and instead of being surprised to learn that at one time it was brought well-nigh to utter desolation, and that at another time serious fanatical errors were rife among its members, we can only wonder how it has contrived to live to this day of prosperity and enlargement, when it is able to report one hundred and nineteen members. It must have had some extra good materials in its original membership, some able and excellent teachers among its numerous temporary supplies, and some special visitations of the Spirit, increasing the graces and replenishing the membership of the church.

Next to Rochester, in point of age, stands the Congregational church of Romeo, Washington township, Macomb county; thirty-two miles north of Detroit. It was organized by that faithful and laborious old missionary, Isaac W. Ruggles, of Pontiac, August 16th, 1828. Romeo was then known as "Indian Village," and was simply a cluster of log houses surrounded by an almost unbroken forest, and accessible to the outside world

* The *Congregational Year-Book* for 1880 reports this church as destitute of a pastor.—G. B. J.

only by Indian trails, over one of which Mr. Ruggles came on foot, more than twenty weary miles, to look up the few sheep who had found their way from New England to these ends of the earth. But Romeo is now a thriving village of twenty-two hundred inhabitants, with all the usual accessories of a first-class New England town, including even a flourishing academy.

The first church in Romeo was organized in a log school-house—for thus early had provision been made for a district school in this new settlement—and seven persons were constituted its pillars, possibly with regard to the primitive Connecticut practice suggested by Proverbs ix: 1: "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." Their first minister was Mr. Ruggles, who came occasionally through the woods, to encourage their hearts and strengthen their hands in the good work which they had undertaken. He, in fact, exercised a sort of fatherly supervision of all the new and feeble churches in his neighborhood. The Rev. Luther Shaw was their first stated supply, preaching for two years (1831-32) alternately here and at Rochester, and then, for nearly three years, all the time at Romeo. In the course of fifty years the church has had ten pastors or stated supplies, including their present pastor, Rev. Minor W. Fairfield, who was installed May 4th, 1874.

This church was formed on the "Accommodation Plan;" but, like the Rochester church, soon

found cause and occasion to throw off that mongrel character and settle down on the basis of simple, Scriptural Congregationalism.

These several ministries were generally effective and successful. Six distinct revivals of religion were enjoyed, and large numbers were added to the church — not less than six hundred persons in all. And the little band of seven Christians who were organized into a Congregational church in 1828 has now (1878-79) grown to be a church of two hundred and fifty-six members; and instead of the poor little log hut in which they began their church life, they have now a commodious, substantial and beautiful place of worship, provided with all the conveniences, and luxuries even, of the times; all paid for by voluntary subscriptions of sums varying from twenty-five cents — the widow's mite — to sixty-two hundred dollars — the rich man's free-will offering to the Lord. The church appears to be thoroughly organized for parish work and for general missionary and philanthropic efforts; and all its various arrangements for personal improvement and doing good to others are substantially such as are found in our largest and best New England village churches. And Romeo seems fully to justify the character given it by one of its ministers: * "This

* *MS. Letter from Rev. M. W. Fairfield, dated Nov. 20th, 1878.*

For the materials of this sketch I am indebted to Mr. Fairfield and to the Report of the very interesting semi-centennial celebration of the institution of this church, Aug. 16th, 1878.

community is, in a remarkable degree, a New England community; more so, probably, than any other town in the State."

The church at Ypsilanti, formed in 1829, was at the start Congregational, but changed to Presbyterian in 1832; though the religious society connected with it retained the name of "The First Congregational Society of Ypsilanti" for thirty years, and for aught that is known retains it to this day. In January, 1830, a Congregational church was formed at Lima, Washtenaw county; a thriving post village near Ann Arbor, fifty miles west of Detroit.

The next Congregational church in Michigan which has survived to this day was that organized in February, 1831, at Pontiac, a thriving post town in the centre of Oakland county, about twenty-five miles northwest of Detroit. There appears to have been a church organized here on or before 1824. If so, it may have been a Union or Presbyterian church; though in 1838 there is no mention made of any other than "a church for Congregationalists" in the village, which then had a court-house, jail, a branch of the State University, a bank and banking associations, mills, manufactories, etc., etc.*

On the first of June, 1831, the Rev. John D. Pierce, a decided Congregationalist, went to Michigan. He had been commissioned by the

* *Blair's Gazetteer of Michigan*, 1838.

American Home Missionary Society to labor either in the State of Illinois or the Territory of Michigan — which then included all Wisconsin. He wisely chose the larger and more destitute field of labor. Upon reaching Detroit, then but a small town of less than three thousand inhabitants, he sought out, first of all, the local committee of the Home Missionary Society, as advised by the secretary at New York to do, in order to consult with them with regard to future operations. Among other topics, the committee discussed with Mr. Pierce the question of church order and government; and told him that it would be expected of him and best for him to join the Detroit Presbytery; and "that it would not be either desirable or wise to organize any Congregational churches" — for the reason "that, while Congregationalism did well enough for New England, it was not adapted to the recent settlements of the West;" and besides, that there were no Congregational churches of any account, and no ministers, and no associations of that name, in all the Territories of the Northwest. But Mr. Pierce told his counsellors that he had examined the question of church polity, and was satisfied that Congregationalism was substantially the Scriptural model; * and that, "if it was adapted to primitive times and to New England in its infancy, it would not be less so to the new

* See Mr. Pierce's own account in *Cong. Quar.*, xi, 192 —

settlements of the West," which abounded in New England people.

Leaving Detroit, Mr. Pierce went first to Ann Arbor, about forty miles west of Detroit, where he preached four Sabbaths; and thence to Marshall, Calhoun county, about seventy miles further West, a new settlement, the entire population of which—twenty-five, all told—came out to hear his first sermon, July 1st, 1831. Here he was induced to remain; and here, in May, 1832, he organized a Congregational church, consisting of seven members. Sometime in 1833, Mr. Pierce began to preach a part of the time at Homer, twenty miles distant from Marshall, though in the same county; where in due time another Congregational church of twenty members was organized. During the year 1833, Congregational churches were formed at Bruce, at Clinton, and at Grand Blanc; and in 1834 a Congregational church was formed at Barry, Jackson county, ninety miles west of Detroit.

According to this record, there were ten Congregational churches formed in Michigan between the years 1827-34, both included. Six of these still survive, and report an aggregate of over eight hundred communicants. Four of them have fallen asleep or become Presbyterian.

In the course of the next six years—1835-40, both included—nineteen Congregational churches were formed in Michigan, which still survive, reporting in 1878 an aggregate church membership of over twenty-six hundred souls.

The history of the First Congregational Church of Detroit affords a good illustration of the adaptedness of our New England church polity to the West. As lately as the year 1844, there was but one church in that city of about fifteen thousand souls whose religious faith and mode of worship were substantially like ours — the First Presbyterian Church. The necessity of another evangelical church was felt, and thirteen persons who believed in the polity as well as the evangelical faith of the Pilgrims banded together, and on the 25th of December, 1844, were organized as the First Congregational Church of Detroit. The Rev. Henry L. Hammond, who was their first minister, and the Rev. O. C. Thompson, of St. Clair, organized this church. It immediately gathered to itself persons of kindred views, and was blessed with revivals of religion which added largely to its members; and it steadily and rapidly grew in numbers and, we may believe, in Christian graces also. In 1854 it reported two hundred and forty-seven members; three years later, its membership was three hundred and eight; in 1860 it reported three hundred and sixty members; and that, in all, five hundred and sixty-two persons had been connected with the church since its formation — fourteen years; two hundred and four of them by profession of their faith.

In 1866 it was found necessary to organize a second Congregational church. In 1870 the two churches had an aggregate of four hundred and

eighty-two communicants. In 1878 the First Church reported four hundred and sixty-four members, and the Second Church two hundred and fifty-eight — an aggregate of seven hundred and twenty-two members.*

In 1839 the Marshall Association was formed. This was the first Congregational Association in Michigan; and it is not improbable that this movement was hastened by the organization of a "Marshall Presbytery," even before there was a Presbyterian church in the place; and to counteract the proselyting efforts of one or more good brethren of that faith, whose special mission it seemed to be to go from one feeble Congregational church to another, and persuade them that the good of the cause and the prosperity of the church required them to unite with Presbytery.†

Early in 1840 two other associations were organized: the Jackson, and the Eastern.

* I am indebted to the old *Year-Books* for most of the facts in this sketch, particularly that for 1859, pp. 208-09. For the statistics subsequent to that year, the *Congregational Quarterly* is my authority. It deserves notice that the First Congregational Church of Detroit was favored in the course of fourteen years with four distinct revivals, namely: in 1848, in 1861, in 1866 and in 1868.

† Mr. Pierce refers to one Presbyterian minister who officiated for awhile in three different Congregational churches, which were induced by him to become Presbyterian in whole or part, and mentions the names of others — and New England men, too — who did the same kind of work on a smaller scale.

A General Association was formed on the 11th of October, 1842. In answer to a special call, ten ministers and ten delegates from six churches met at Jackson, and, after mature deliberation, drew up a Confession of Faith and a Constitution and Rules for the organization and government of the General Association of the Congregational churches of Michigan, "involving the same great principles of church order and government that were taught by our Puritan fathers; the same principles that have given success, prosperity and glory to the churches of New England since their first settlement." *

This organization was a matter of great interest and importance to the feeble Congregational churches of Michigan. Distributed, as they were, at long intervals over an immense territory, and very much isolated, as many of them were, they greatly needed some common bond of union and fellowship; something to draw them together and to give them that strength which union always imparts. This inaugurated a new era in our Western church history, so far as Michigan was concerned; though other and more general measures were necessary to emancipate Congregationalism fully from all the disabilities with which its friends and others had environed it in the Northwest Territory generally.

* First Address of the Gen. Assoc. to the Churches of Michigan, *Cong. Quar.*, 11, 190.

The first of these more general measures was the Convention in 1846, in Michigan City, Indiana; a central rallying point for Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin. This body was composed of ministers and delegates from the Northwest States, and an able delegation from the Eastern States. In this convention was set at rest the charge of looseness and unsoundness in doctrine and practice with which the Western Congregationalists had been taxed, by adopting unanimously the declaration, that they did firmly adhere to the great fundamental doctrines of grace as set forth and illustrated by the masters of New England theology. This declaration brought them into the sympathy and favor of the Eastern churches as they had not before been.

This was the dawning of a brighter day for Michigan and all Western Congregationalism, which was turned into perfect day by the memorable Albany Convention, in 1852; at which there was a large gathering of Congregational brethren from the East and the West, who carefully compared their doctrines and practice, and found, to the joy of all, that there was no essential difference between them; and that the churches of the West were as true to the faith and the polity of the fathers of New England as were those of the East.* This conviction was still

* Pierce's "Congregationalism in Michigan." — *Cong'l Quarterly*, II, 196-97.

further confirmed by the National Council, which assembled at Boston, June, 1865.

Between 1841 and 1860, both included, sixty-nine churches which are still alive were formed in Michigan; and in 1878-79 there were in the State two hundred and twenty-five Congregational churches and two hundred and six ministers. The number of communicants was nearly seventeen thousand — 16,935. The contributions of one hundred and forty-seven of these churches to benevolent objects, in 1877, were more than twenty-two thousand dollars; while the church expenses of one hundred and seventy-four of them that year were nearly two hundred thousand dollars. The churches are organized into eleven Conferences, which find a bond of union in the General Association of the State.

The educational history of Michigan has a special interest for Congregationalists, for the whole system of common schools and the plan of a university and branches were the work of a Congregational minister. One of the first acts of the first legislature of Michigan, in the year 1836, made it the duty of the governor to appoint a Superintendent of Public Instruction "to prepare a system for the common schools, and a plan for a university and its branches." This appointment was given to the Rev. John D. Pierce, who entered upon the work with intelligent zeal, and was prepared to report, in 1837, the required "system" and the "plan." Both of these were adopted by

the legislature, without material alteration; "and now, after a trial of forty years, the educational system of Michigan has the reputation of being one of the best in the Union," though it has been changed in no essential respect from the original drafts presented by Mr. Pierce.*

In 1876 the State was supporting nearly six thousand common schools. It has also a normal school with a principal and twelve assistants; with numerous high schools and academies; and nine colleges, in two of which, that of Grand Traverse College and that of Olivet, the Congregationalists have a special interest.†

WISCONSIN.

What is now the flourishing State of Wisconsin was long regarded as the fag-end of the North-western Territory. Its government — what little it had — was successively in the hands of Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and finally Michigan, of which Territory it was a constituent part from 1818 to 1836, when a little more than one half of the whole Territory was erected into the State of

* *Cyclopædia of Education.*

† Olivet College, at Olivet, Eaton county, was founded in 1844. It has an endowment of \$140,000 and a library of six thousand volumes. It comprises a collegiate department, with a classical, a scientific and a ladies' course, and a preparatory department, with a classical, an English and a ladies' course. Instruction in art and in music is also given, and in normal school branches. In 1875-76 it had fourteen instructors and three hundred and seventeen students in all its departments.

Michigan. This left ten or twelve thousand persons without any civil organization or suitable government. The need of a separate government from that of Michigan had been seriously felt by the settlers in Wisconsin previously; and they had repeatedly petitioned for it. But now this want became imperative; their petition was renewed for "a new and efficient political existence;" and on the 20th of April, 1836, Congress established a Territorial government for Wisconsin. Under this it had to live until 1848, when it was admitted as an independent State into the American Union.*

The country erected into a Territory, under the name of Wisconsin, originally included Iowa, Minnesota and a portion of Nebraska and of Dakota—a tract of territory some five or six hundred miles square—as large as the whole Northwestern Territory when set off by Congress in 1787. But Wisconsin proper—the country east of the Mississippi and west of Lake Michigan, and bounded north by Lake Superior and South by Illinois—is a noble State; in length about two hundred and eighty-five miles, in width two hundred and fifty-five; embracing an area of about fifty-three thousand square miles; and abounding in everything necessary to attract and support an immense population of industrious, enterprising and intelligent people.

* *Smith's History of Wisconsin*, 1, 297-300.

Wisconsin, though emphatically an interior State, is yet so situated that its access to the Outer world is notably easy, by means of the Great water-ways on all sides of her, and through and across the State.

One of the earliest American explorers of Wisconsin was Captain Jonathan Carver, of Connecticut. He commanded an independent company in the French war on the Canadian frontiers. His observations there led to the conviction that the French, for selfish purposes, had intentionally kept the world in ignorance of the interior of this country; and he formed the purpose of exploring the whole country between the forty-third and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude. With these views he set out from Boston in the summer of 1766, and spent nearly two and a half years and travelled some seven thousand miles in an exploration of the entire region, including a careful survey of the country, bays, rivers, etc., around Lake Superior. Immediately after his return to Massachusetts, he prepared his journal and notes of travel, maps and charts for publication, and sailed for England. He there made a contract for their publication; * but the Lords of Trade, those despotic governors of the American Colonies, interposed their veto on the publication at that time,

* *Durrie's Annals of Prairie du Chien; Encyclopædia Americana*, art. Carver. His travels were finally published in 1778.

and ordered all the papers to be delivered to the Plantation Office.

American settlers began to find their way into Wisconsin as early as 1816; though most of the settlers were traders and hunters — Frenchmen and half-breeds.*

One of the earliest settlers in southwestern Wisconsin was Ebenezer Brigham, of Worcester, Massachusetts. After travelling from Worcester to St. Louis, in 1818, he finally settled, in 1828, at Blue Mounds, Dane county, Wisconsin, and was the first White settler in that county; being located not far from the site of Madison, the present capital of the State. His nearest neighbor was twenty-four miles distant, at Dodgeville, in the adjoining county of Iowa.†

The causes which retarded the settlement of Michigan proper acted with special force against Wisconsin; these were, its remoteness from the old States, and its great exposure to Indian depredations.

As lately as 1836, when the Territorial organization was effected, Wisconsin could claim no more than about twelve thousand inhabitants. But immediately settlers began to flow into the

* In 1832, even, so little had been done towards settling Wisconsin that but four Whites — and they were French traders — could be found south of Green Bay and east of Rock river.

† See *Early Times in Wisconsin*, in Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Collections.

country in a wide and strong stream, increasing the population in two years to more than eighteen thousand souls; which number was nearly doubled during the next two years, and has continued multiplying until 1875, when the State census gave Wisconsin nearly a million and a quarter of inhabitants — 1,235,599. But this population in 1850 was foreign to the extent of thirty-five in a hundred; and in 1870 more than one half of the inhabitants were of foreign parentage, the Germans greatly preponderating.*

The first Congregational church in Wisconsin was composed of the Stockbridge Indians, who removed to the Territory in 1821, and located at Statesburgh, on the Fox river, twenty miles above Green Bay. For several years this little church maintained public worship among themselves, without a pastor, offering prayer and praise, and for a sermon reading Scott's *Commentary*. In 1829 they were blessed with a revival of religion, which added twenty communicants to the church.

The Rev. Jesse Miner was their pastor and teacher in 1828-29. In May, 1830, the Rev. Cutting Marsh became their pastor and teacher, under the direction of the American Board, Mr. Miner

* In the county of Dodge, the native population in 1870 numbered 28,708, while the foreign population amounted to 18,327, of which 12,608 were Germans. In Milwaukee there were 4,097 natives and 29,019 Germans.

having died. Mr. Marsh—an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile—remained with the church eighteen years and more, during which time it experienced several revivals, and was increased to seventy members. But by removals and the general treatment of the United States government, the church was finally ruined and the Stockbridge tribe nearly annihilated.*

The first Protestant church formed in Wisconsin, of White persons, was organized at Prairie du Chien—Dog Prairie—in 1832, and was styled, "The Church in the Wilderness."† The Rev. David Lowry, who was sent by the government to the Winnebagoes, to establish a school and open a farm for them on the Yellow river, in Iowa, just opposite Prairie du Chien, while waiting for the necessary buildings to be erected, lived at the village of the Prairie. Here, finding ten or twelve Christian men and women of different denominations, all destitute of church ordinances and privileges, he organized them into a church, with the understanding that each member was at liberty, without offence, to go to his own denomination, so soon as a church of that order should be formed within his reach.‡

* For particulars see *Pest's History of the Churches of Wisconsin*, 191; and *Clary's Continuation*, 46-47.

† *Duane's Annals of Prairie du Chien*.

‡ The Congregationalists, the Protestant Episcopalians and the Methodists, and perhaps the Baptists, all had missionary stations, and some of them churches too, in Wisconsin, between 1831 and about 1839.

The earliest notice of any denominational movement in Wisconsin was in 1833, when the Methodists established a mission at Ottawa Lake, in the western part of the Territory. About the same time the Baptists were at work at Green Bay, in the northeastern part, and at Prairie du Chien, Plattville and Mineral Point, in the extreme southwestern part. The first Baptist church dates back to July 1st, 1835. The first Protestant sermon ever preached in Milwaukee was sometime in June, 1835, by the Rev. Mark Robinson, a Methodist minister of the Illinois Conference. The Rev. Abel L. Barber, probably a Congregationalist, was there about the same time, and alternated with his Methodist brother in preaching to the people. His commission from the American Home Missionary Society bore the date of July 1st, 1835.* This, so far as we know, comprised all that was being done to evangelize Wisconsin prior to its organization as a Territory, in April, 1836.

On the 1st of November, 1836, the Rev. Cyrus Nichols was commissioned for Racine, some twenty miles south of Milwaukee. This was reported in 1838 to be "a destitute, hard and trying field, but cultivated with persevering diligence." Dur-

* *Dr. Enoch Chase's Address to the Old Settlers' Club at Milwaukee, in 1872; Historical Sketch of Milwaukee Methodism from 1835 to 1873; Report American Home Missionary Society for 1836.*

In 1832 Milwaukee had for inhabitants only Solomon Juneau and his employes. In 1876, the city had 100,775 inhabitants.

ing 1838-39 the society had three missionaries in the Territory : at Milwaukee, Racine and Green Bay.

The Congregationalists seem to have acted with somewhat more denominational independence and decision in Wisconsin than in any of the previously settled Western States. They had come to rely more on their own judgment and convictions as to what was right and best for that section of our country than had been previously done. The delusion that Congregational salt lost all its savor in crossing the Hudson river was at length dissipated, and it came to be an accepted axiom that what was good in New England was far from bad in Wisconsin ; and, furthermore, that it was no breach of Christian courtesy for Congregationalists to organize Congregational churches wherever they were in the majority ; yielding to Presbyterians the same right and privilege where they were most numerous. And the Wisconsin Presbyterians seem to have been ready to meet the Congregationalists on this broad and substantial platform ; and so there was no attempt to unite irreconcilable principles of church government — no mongrel organizations, comprising persons who could not speak the same denominational language, but who were compelled to speak " according to the language of each people."

On Saturday, January 20th, 1838, the first Congregational church of Wisconsin, which has con-

tinued to this day, was formed at Prairieville, now Waukesha, the shire-town of the county of the same name. There met for this purpose, in Robert Love's cabin, eight men and ten women, nearly or quite all of them from the State of New York, and most of them, probably, the children of New England parents who had early emigrated to New York; and the minister who gathered them was from the same State. But they were not all Congregationalists by previous education, and some of them were not even Calvinists. One of the leading men had been a Wesleyan Methodist, and three or four of the number entertained doubts respecting the doctrine of predestination, and about infant baptism. The officiating minister at the organization was the Rev. Gilbert Crawford, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Milwaukee; and on him had devolved the work of drawing up a Constitution and Articles of Faith. This creed was somewhat modified by the church, in order to meet the views of the members, and then unanimously adopted as one under which they could all heartily work as a Congregational church. The original creed of the church is lost; but the present one — though thoroughly evangelical and Scriptural so far as it goes, and very neatly expressed — has in it but little of the old Calvinism of the Westminster Confession or of the New England fathers.

The ecclesiastical organization of this church is thoroughly Congregational; and its standing rules

and constitution are well-nigh models in their way. They go so far as to recognize that ancient and Scriptural rule — now, alas! very often disregarded by ministers and churches — that “the pastor, when settled, shall be a member of the church.”*

As, for a year or more preceding the organization of this church, the people had met together in each other's cabins from week to week for religious worship,† so they continued to do afterwards, enjoying only the occasional assistance of Mr. Crawford and of Rev. Moses Ordway, until May, 1839. At that date they secured the stated services, for a year, of Rev. Cyrus Nichols, one of the very first missionaries of the American Home Missionary Society in Wisconsin.‡ At the close of this engagement, the church settled their first pastor, the Rev. O. F. Curtis, May 1st, 1840, who remained with them until November, 1846.

* *Standing Rules of the Church* — Article 12. I am indebted to the present pastor of this church, the Rev Chas. W. Camp, for a copy of the Confession of Faith, Covenant, Standing Rules, etc., of the Church and Society; also, for a report of the Memorial Services, at the fortieth anniversary of this church; and for the communication, by letter, of important information.

† At the Memorial Services, Deacon F. D. Clinton, one of the original members, said: “The settlers were like one family — a general agreement among them; and they met on Sunday in each other's cabins. I remember that I came in on Friday, built a cabin on Saturday, and on Sunday had a meeting in it.”

‡ See ante, on p. 325. — *Missionary at Racine.*

Mr. Curtis was a New Hampshire man, and had been in the ministry about ten years when he emigrated to Wisconsin in 1840. He seems to have been an active and successful minister. When first invited to Waukesha, he returned answer, that he would go, "if the people would have a day of fasting and prayer, hold meetings and prepare for his coming." This they readily consented to do; and more than this they did: they enlarged their log school-house, to make it more commodious for religious services. On going to the place, Mr. Curtis found everything ready for his coming; and at his first meeting the school-house was not only full, but a crowd was gathered around its open windows; and the anxiety of the people in the neighborhood to hear the Word preached was so great that the church members gave up their seats in the house, and went in a body to the grove near by to pray for a blessing on the preaching.*

This revival added to the church, in 1840, no less than seventy-three persons, fifty of them on profession of their faith; and in 1841, sixty-two more, forty-three of them on profession. And so

* Rev. Mr. Curtis, in *The Memorial Services*.

It is a practical commentary on this church and its first pastor, that Mr. Curtis, in 1878, had three sons in the ministry: one a missionary in Japan, another the pastor of a church in Nebraska; and a third, the minister of a church of Freedmen in Selma, Alabama.—*M.S. Letter of the present pastor, Dec 30th, 1878.*

the good work went on, until, at the close of twelve years, the church had gathered to its communion two hundred and seventy-six souls, more than half of them on profession of their faith.

The progress of the church since about 1851 has been comparatively slow; and for the obvious reason that after that time the rush of emigrants was westward and northward of the lake counties of Wisconsin. Yet at the fortieth anniversary of the church, January, 1878, the pastor could say: "During the forty years now ended there have been enrolled on the church register the names of six hundred and fifty-four members. The present number is one hundred and thirty-four."

Waukesha, seventeen miles west of Milwaukee, is beautifully located on the Fox river, at the extremity of a fine prairie, in the neighborhood of a rich farming country. The river furnishes excellent water power, and the enterprise of the people has provided factories and foundries, machine shops and mechanic shops, and stores for the supply of every domestic want. It has also several churches, a college and an academy, as well as common schools; all indicating the intelligence and enterprise and moral qualities of the original founders and the subsequent inhabitants of this pleasant place—the men and women who constituted the first Congregational church and society in Wisconsin, and their immediate descendants.

The second Congregational church in Wisconsin was organized at Kenosha or Southport, June

25th, 1838, by the Rev. Gilbert Crawford. Though small at the outset—eighteen members—the church grew with the town, receiving additions every year until 1850, when it had received in all two hundred and forty-six persons. Their first minister was the Rev. C. C. Cadwell. The Rev. J. U. Parsons was their second minister.* Kenosha is the most southern lake port in Wisconsin, thirty-five miles south of Milwaukee. It has a good harbor, and piers extending into the lake, and a fine, rich back country from which to draw business. It was first settled in 1836.

On the last Sunday afternoon of the year 1838—when the settlement at Beloit could not boast of more than one hundred and fifty inhabitants—

* Mr. Parsons devoted considerable time to the development of a plan for a model settlement in that new territory; which, however, unfortunately failed of complete success. He travelled in New England and labored hard to enlist ministers and their people in his enterprise, as the writer of this note has occasion to remember. His plan was to secure a homogeneous body of New England people, to go out and establish a colony in some choice township, at their own expense. In the centre of this township a village was to be laid out, with the meeting-house, school-house, academy, and the necessary mechanical and manufacturing establishments, stores, etc., etc.; then, radiating from this centre, as from a hub, were to be roads on which the farms and farmers of the colony were to be located; and then, to bind the whole together, and make locomotion easy, it was proposed to lay down tram-roads in every direction, of plank or timber, over which passing would be easy with common carriages at all seasons of the year. This, in brief, was Mr. Parsons's plan. And it certainly was not a very wild scheme—not even including the tram-ways, as seen in the present light.

twenty-four Christian men and women met to form "the First Congregational Church of Beloit, Wisconsin." The Rev. William M. Adams was the moderator of the meeting, and the guide of the brethren and sisters on the occasion; though doubtless some of them well understood the work in which they were to engage; for they were nearly all New England people. Ten were from New Hampshire, six from Vermont, two from Maine, one from Connecticut, one from Rhode Island, one from Illinois, and three from New York.

They chose for their deacon, Peter R. Field, of Colebrook, New Hampshire; and for their clerk, Henry Mears, of Vermont. The Rev. Wm. M. Adams became their minister for the time being, and remained with them about two years. The church has been blessed with many revivals; which is nearly equivalent to saying that it has prospered and grown correspondingly. Without knowing exactly when these revivals occurred, their dates may be pretty accurately settled by noting the years in which were the largest additions to the church.* Thus, we find that in 1840 twenty-nine persons were received, and the next year forty-two were added. In 1845, thirty-one additions were made; and in the year following, fifty-two. In 1849, sixty persons, in 1852, forty-

*This we are enabled to do by means of their excellent *Church Manual*, with which the pastor has favored us.

six, were received; in 1855, forty-nine, and in 1867, eighty-seven names were added to the roll of this church. Other years have been quite prolific, the ten years succeeding 1858 giving an average of about thirty additions a year. Thus, it appears that this First Congregational Church of Beloit had received to its fellowship, in thirty years, nine hundred and fifty-five persons. In 1778-79, this church had a membership of four hundred and forty-three, being a little larger than any other Congregational church in the State; and yet, it has sent off one colony to form a Presbyterian church, and another to form a second Congregational church in Beloit, which last now has a membership of one hundred and ninety-three souls.

These details are given, not because the church at Beloit was a singular example of the value of revivals in the growth of a church, but simply because they illustrate very forcibly the dependence of the churches on those divine visitations. All through the Western country, during the years named above, the evangelical churches were receiving large accessions — were enjoying a very harvest-time.

Beloit was first settled in 1835, and is now one of the most beautiful and thrifty cities in Wisconsin. It has fine water-power, and a great variety of factories and manufactories in operation.

But these are not the only evidences of New England enterprise. Beloit is noted for its fine

graded schools, upon the New England plan. It is also the seat of Beloit College, under the patronage of the Congregationalists; "one of the best managed and most flourishing institutions of learning in the West." *

In thrift and a proper appreciation of superior public schools and institutions of learning, Janesville, the capital of Rock county, and the home of one of the largest Congregational churches in the State—formed in 1845—is a generous rival of Beloit.

In 1839-40 ten more Congregational churches were formed. During the next twenty years—1841-60, both included—there was a steady yearly increase of our churches in Wisconsin, amounting to one hundred and sixteen in the aggregate; or nearly six in a year. But the progress was not regular during these twenty years. The first ten years (1841-50) gave us forty-six new churches, and the next decade added seventy new churches to our list. The whole number of Congregational churches in Wisconsin in 1878-79, including twelve Welsh churches, with a membership of nearly four hundred, was one hundred and ninety-one; the number of ministers was one hundred and sixty-four; and the number of church communicants, thirteen thousand eight hundred and sixty-six.

* Tuttle's *History of Wisconsin*, 688-89.

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The general organization of the churches of Wisconsin is somewhat peculiar and anomalous. As usual in the Western Territories, Presbyterianism was prompt to move to the front; and in January, 1839, erected a Presbytery at Milwaukee, of four ministers and two churches; one of the churches and one or two of the ministers being Congregationalists. This, for a year and five months, was the only ecclesiastical bond of union among the churches of our faith in the Territory; and it received to its fellowship, from time to time, several other churches and ministers; a special resolution having been adopted for the accommodation of Congregational churches, and one allowing Presbyterian churches to elect their elders for a limited time. Still, the Congregationalists as a body were not disposed to go into this Presbytery, though it had no connection with any Synod or General Assembly, and its members were very anxious to have a union upon their plan of "pacification and harmony." The Congregationalists even contemplated calling a convention to effect a separate organization; but they finally agreed to call a general convention at the same time and place of the meeting of the Presbytery, in order to consult and decide on the question of union. These meetings were held at Troy, Walworth county, October 6th, 1840; and so great was the interest in them, that some of

the ministers and delegates travelled five days on horseback to attend them. Nine ministers were present, and delegates from sixteen churches—eight Presbyterian and eight Congregational. The conference between the parties proved to be deeply interesting and harmonious, and even solemn, and resulted in a plan of union more equitable and reasonable than was ever before made between Presbyterians and Congregationalists; the only one, in fact, in which our good Presbyterian brethren had not secured the lion's share. It was called "The Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin."

The design of this union was not to amalgamate the two denominations, but simply to provide a basis on which they could act harmoniously together. Every church connected with this convention was to be fully Congregational or Presbyterian, just as a majority of its members should elect. If it chose Congregationalism, it was to be governed according to the principles and usages of that system, with the single proviso that the church, instead of calling councils, which it was entirely at liberty to do, might make the convention a standing council or a consociation, to which it could appeal whenever it needed advice. There was also a provision that the records of every church should be submitted to the inspection of the convention yearly for advice, and not dictation; and to secure orderly consistency in church action and uniformity in faith.

On the other hand, the Presbyterian churches were to be governed according to the Book of Discipline, with the right of appeal to the convention as an ecclesiastical court, holding the place of a Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly. In other words, the convention was to do all for the Presbyterian churches that these several bodies could do; and be their ultimate appeal in all cases.

This was the state of things until June, 1842, when the General Convention began to erect District Conventions. Then, the district conventions took the place of Presbyteries for the churches of that order, and the general convention that of a Synod; while to the Congregational churches, the district organizations were either standing councils or consociations, or simply conferences or district associations, of which there are now (1878) nine in the whole State.

These conventional arrangements are said to have worked well in the main, and quite harmoniously. But this perhaps is to be attributed to the fact that the Presbyterians have so generally withdrawn from the convention, or withheld their coöperation; while nearly or quite all the Congregational churches in the State are now and ever have been connected with it, and bound by its constitution and rules and regulations. The Old School Presbyterians set up their own ecclesiastical courts as early as 1846; and the New School Presbyterians erected a Presbytery

in 1851, and began at once to withdraw from the convention; so that in 1878, only seven Presbyterian churches were reported as still connected with the State Convention, though there must be at least a hundred and fifty of their churches in the State.*

Wisconsin owes much to her New England population for her position in regard to educational institutions. In 1870 this State stood the tenth in a list of forty-seven States and Territories, for the number of her public schools, and the eighth for the number of her pupils; while she ranked the fifteenth in aggregate population.

As early as June, 1842, the Ecclesiastical Convention was discussing measures for establishing a "Literary Institution;" and this discussion did not cease fully until its members had cooperated in the establishment of four collegiate institutions: one at Beloit, in Rock county; one at Ripon, Fond du Lac county; one at Prairie du Chien, in Crawford county, on the Mississippi; and a female college at Fox Lake, in Dodge county.

North Field College — the first institution for superior instruction in Wisconsin — was founded in 1845. In 1871 it had a corps of eleven instructors, and one hundred and forty-six stu-

* In 1878 the Presbyterians had one hundred and thirteen churches in Wisconsin, thirteen of which only were in the General Convention, while the Congregationalists had one hundred and sixty churches, nearly or quite every one of which was in the Convention.

dents in the preparatory department, and sixty-five in the collegiate.

Ripon College — founded by the Congregationalists in 1851 — is at Ripon, twelve or fifteen miles northwest of Fond du Lac, at the southern extremity of Lake Winnebago. It was organized as a college in 1863, and in 1875-76 it had thirteen instructors and three hundred and fifty-eight students.

The Wisconsin Female College at Fox Lake — in the northwest corner of Dodge county, fifty or sixty miles west of Lake Michigan — was organized by Congregationalists in 1850. In 1875 it had six instructors and sixty-five students.

We have now surveyed the progress of Congregationalism over the old Northwestern Territory, which extended from the Ohio river to the great northern lakes and Canada, and from Pennsylvania on the east to the Mississippi river on the west; which in 1787 contained scarcely a solitary American settler, but in 1871 had more than nine millions of citizens of the United States. This Territory reached the remotest northwestern boundary of the United States, fixed upon at the close of our Revolution, and recognized in the Treaty of Paris, signed September 3d. 1783, and ratified by the Congress of the United States, January 4th, 1784. And this sketch of Wisconsin completes the history of Congregationalism in all the Northwest Territory; and more than that, it finishes the history of the denomination in all the country won from Great Britain by the Revolutionary War, and all the country between the Atlantic ocean and the Mississippi river, and between the Gulf of Mexico and the Canada line;

and of one State beyond the river, namely: Missouri.

We are now to look cursorily over the vast regions west of the Mississippi river, to the Pacific ocean—which was the original western boundary, according to their charters, of the first New England colonies—and between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico, west of the Mississippi; which embraces considerably more territory than is contained within the old United States and all the country east of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER IX.

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.

KANSAS and Nebraska, though not entirely contemporaneous in their settlement, are contiguous States, and have a common history to start with.

In January, 1854, a bill was introduced into the United States Senate by Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, providing for the organization of two Territories north of latitude 36° 30', to be called Kansas and Nebraska, leaving the question whether they should be slave or free Territories to the decision of the inhabitants. This was in effect to repeal the "Missouri Compromise" of 1821, which provided that Missouri might come into the Union as a slave State, but that all the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of latitude 36° 30' — the southern boundary line of Missouri — should forever be free territory. This agreement was assented to by the North only because it was understood to be a complete and final settlement of the vexed question of slavery, which had come up on the admission of every Western State, and was continually agitating and irritating the people. But this Kansas-Nebraska bill not only violated this compromise, but was also in flagrant disregard of more recent compromise measures introduced by Henry Clay, chairman of a special

committee in 1850, and commended to the country as an absolute and final settlement of the whole question of slavery between the North and the South.* Naturally, then, this unexpected opening of the slavery question, after it had been so thoroughly compromised, greatly excited the anti-slavery statesmen in Congress as well as the people of the North generally. The bill was contested at every point by such men as Seward, Wade, Chase, Sumner, Giddings, and a score of others; while it was defended with all the tact and extraordinary ability of Douglas, and by prominent Southern statesmen generally.† An appeal was also made by leading opponents of this bill in Congress to the country at large, which produced a powerful sensation, and among other things brought to Congress a petition from three thousand New England ministers, of all denominations, earnestly protesting against the passage

* So much in earnest were the friends of these compromise measures of 1850, that many of them signed a solemn compact not to vote for any man, for any thing who should in any way renew the slavery agitation after the adoption of these measures. Henry Clay, Howell Cobb, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, and Henry Clay Marshall, all influential statesmen, were parties to this compact; and, further, the Democratic National Convention of 1852 deliberately acted that the party would resist all attempts, in Congress or out of it, to renew the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color it might be introduced. — See *Am. Lib. & P. Op.*, pp. 129, 130.

† I have before me, as I write, more than forty speeches made in Congress when this bill was under discussion.

of the bill. But, in spite of all, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed both houses of Congress and became the law of the land, in May, 1854. And now began a fearful contest between the North and the South, outside of the national legislature, which nothing but the War of the Rebellion ever exceeded. If the question whether this vast territory — extending from the southern line of Missouri eight hundred miles north and at least ten hundred miles west — should be free or slave territory was to be decided by the votes of the first settlers, then it became a matter of vital importance which of the two, the free or the slave States, should send the most settlers into that country. Accordingly, associations were immediately formed at the North to encourage emigration, and large numbers of resolute men were soon enlisted in the enterprise, and were hurrying westward, prepared to maintain themselves against the armed ruffians who swarmed over the borders of Missouri, carrying fire and sword, and threatening death and destruction to every abolitionist who attempted to settle in Kansas. The far-famed Connecticut Colony, led by the Hon. Charles B. Lumsden, was one of the emigrating bands. They went out in the spring of 1856, seventy strong, armed with Sharpe's rifles, and prepared to force their way up the Missouri river, which the "border ruffians" proposed to blockade, and which they actually did blockade during a large part of the summer of 1856. Elections to organize a Terri-

torial government were attended by scenes of violence and bloodshed. Armed men from the slave States took possession of the polls, drove away the free settlers, and forced their own votes into the boxes; and, not contented with this, they attacked the settlements of the Northerners, pillaging, killing and burning wherever opposed; and thus for years Kansas was a scene of strife and violence. But in the end freedom triumphed; and in 1861 Kansas came into the Union a free State.*

The triumph of freedom in Kansas brought Nebraska into the Union in 1867, equally free.

Kansas and Nebraska, as now bounded and limited, would be noble prizes to contend for — Kansas with eighty-one thousand three hundred square miles of territory, and Nebraska with seventy-six thousand square miles. But the Kansas and Ne-

*As a proof of the energy with which the settlement of Kansas was carried forward, it may be stated that in 1853 the entire White settlers in all Kansas and Nebraska did not exceed six hundred; and though the first emigrants from New England did not leave until July and August, 1854 — and the settlers from the other free States could not have been much in advance of New England, if any — yet in February, 1855, the population of Kansas alone was eight thousand five hundred and one souls, and in 1860 it was one hundred and seven thousand two hundred and six, of whom ninety-four thousand five hundred and fifteen were native citizens of the United States. Its population in 1870 was three hundred and sixty-four thousand three hundred and ninety-nine; in 1875, it was five hundred and twenty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-seven — an increase of one hundred and sixty-four thousand and thirty-eight in five years.

braska of the bill of 1854 extended over twelve degrees of latitude and eight or nine degrees of longitude, embracing a territory eight or ten times larger than the present States; stretching westward to the crest of the Rocky Mountains at least a thousand miles, and northward to Canada something like eight hundred miles; a territory three thousand miles in circumference, and enclosing an area of nearly five hundred thousand square miles, or three hundred million acres — equal to a dozen States of the size of Ohio. And even after Kansas had been cut off and made a State, Nebraska Territory covered an area of nearly three hundred and thirty-six thousand square miles — 335,882; so that in point of fact this mischievous bill proposed to subject nearly all the unorganized territory of the United States to the inroads of Negro slavery.

Kansas and Nebraska are quite alike in climate, soil and productions. They are largely high prairie land, comprising a succession of gently undulating ridges and valleys, with rich bottom-lands along the many rivers which border or run entirely through this territory.

With the earliest movements of emigrants to Kansas, our home missionary societies were ready to send missionaries into the disputed Territory. But it was not to be expected that the Gospel of Peace should find a very free course where

neither law nor order prevailed. Nevertheless, the spiritual interests of the people were not entirely overlooked or neglected. Churches were organized, and the institutions of religion were established as fast and as far as possible.

The first Congregational preaching in Kansas was by the Rev. Mr. Lum, at Lawrence, on the Sabbath, September 23d, 1854; his meeting-house being the "hay boarding-house" of the village,* and his pulpit a pile of trunks. Two weeks later, October 6th, the Congregational Society of Lawrence was formed, and a committee was appointed to draft Articles of Faith and Rules of Government for a Congregational church. These were presented on Wednesday, October 9th, and accepted and adopted by the first Congregational church of Kansas, then and there formed.

The second Congregational minister to arrive in Kansas was the Rev. Samuel L. Adair, of Whittlesey, Ohio. He was sent out by the American Missionary Association, and arrived at Kansas City in October, 1854, and settled at Osawatimie in March, 1855, where he still remains; but it was not until 1856 that a church could be gathered there.

The Rev. Charles E. Blood was the third minister to reach Kansas. He began his labors among

* "A building constructed by setting up two parallel rows of poles, lashing them together at the top, and throwing the sides into prairie hay. — Cordley's *Congregationalism in Kansas*

the scattered settlers on the Blue river, not far from Fort Riley. These three brave and good Congregationalists were the pioneer missionaries of Kansas; and for the first year extended their travels and labors over all the settlements west of the Missouri river for a hundred and twenty miles.

In the course of 1855-56, four more missionaries arrived in the Territory. But these early years in Kansas were troublous times in which to build up Zion. More than seventy weeks were required to finish the transgression and to make an end of the sins of the invaders of this Territory, who sought by every unlawful, violent and deadly means to force slavery on the Territory. Half a score or more battles were fought: Lawrence, the principal free State settlement, was three times invested by armed men, and once sacked and plundered and set on fire; as was Osawatimie, another important settlement, forty miles southeast of Lawrence, and nearer the Missouri boundary; and this state of things continued, with increasing violence, until the fall of 1856, when partial rest was secured by the strong hand of Governor Geary.

While in this disturbed state, it need not be thought strange that a second Congregational church could not be formed in Kansas for some sixteen months after that at Lawrence.

A second church was formed January 6th, 1856, at Manhattan, distant from Lawrence about eighty miles northwest. The Rev. Charles E. Blood

organized this church, and seems to have been its pastor until about 1861. The third Congregational church was organized by the Rev. Samuel L. Adair, at Osawatomie, in 1856; a fourth, at Zeandale, the same year, by the Rev. Harvey Jones; a fifth, at Topeka, some thirty miles west of Lawrence; a sixth, at Council City, afterwards called Burlingame, some thirty miles south of Topeka, by Rev. Mr. Morell; a seventh, at Bloomington, and an eighth, at Kanwaka, some eight and six miles from Lawrence, by the Rev. Horatio N. Norton, a faithful minister, who entered into his rest after about a year's labor in this dreadful field.

Thus, by the close of the year 1856, the Congregationalists had succeeded in organizing eight small churches in Kansas, with an aggregate membership of about seventy-five souls. In 1857 two more churches were gathered: one at Wabaunsee, some sixty miles northwest of Lawrence; the other at Geneva, as far south of Lawrence.*

Seven of these ten churches are still alive; and among them are three of the largest churches in the State. In 1858 the work of church building revived, and eleven new ones were formed. Of the twenty Congregational churches which had

* Mr. Conley says, "There was only one church organized during the year 1857, that at Wabaunsee" — *Congregationalism in Kansas*, in 1875. But the *Cong'l Year-Book* for 1875 gives Geneva, also, as formed in 1857.

been brought into existence by the close of 1858, four died, and one turned Presbyterian. The total membership of these churches was four hundred and two; a handsome increase on 1856, when there were but eight Congregational churches and not over seventy-five members in the Territory. But Kansas had now to suffer from wild speculation almost as badly as it had previously suffered from border ruffianism. With the settlement of the great controversy and the triumph of Freedom in the Territory, there came rushing in, like an overwhelming flood, land speculators, curious visitors, adventurers of all kinds, and broken-down politicians from every quarter—all eager to mend or make their fortunes on this new free soil. The terrible monetary collapse of 1857 threatened utter ruin to all the institutions for which the earliest friends and the faithful ministers and the infant churches of Kansas had labored and prayed and suffered and fought.

Thus we find that, of the fourteen churches formed in 1859-60, only two survived the changes and overturnings of that period, and not even one survives to this time.

The reaction from this depression was slow indeed; so slow, that during the next eleven years (1860-70) only thirty-eight Congregational churches were added to our list, all of which have continued unto this day. At the close of 1861 there were thirty-six churches and about six hundred members; but the four years of

civil war which followed, reduced this number to thirty-two. The explanation is found in the fact that Kansas was a border State, exposed along its entire eastern boundary to the inroads of the most hostile of Southern enemies. One third at least of all the male members of the churches were in the army; and at times, every Congregational minister was either with his people on the border, or in the trenches at home, prepared to resist invasion; and that there was a loud call for such patriotism appears from the fact that several of the border towns were sacked and plundered by the Southern marauders. With the close of the secession war, prosperity returned to Kansas, and ever since, immigrants have been rolling in upon her rich soil by tens of thousands. In 1860 she had but about one hundred and seven thousand inhabitants; in 1870 she had more than three hundred and fifty-eight thousand; in 1875, five hundred and twenty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-seven. Since 1865, Kansas has put under cultivation six million acres of prairie, organized forty counties, and built twenty-eight hundred miles of railway.

From about 1870 the work of church building, too, has been quite encouraging; so that in 1878 the Congregationalists had one hundred and fifty-two churches and five thousand two hundred and seven church members.

It marks the character of the early Congregationalists of Kansas, that, amidst all the disturb-

ances of the period, they should think of forming a General Association. This they did at Lawrence, sometime in the autumn of 1856, though the first meeting of which there is any record was held at Topeka, in April, 1857. There were eleven ministers connected with it during the first year, though at the first meeting only three were present, with three lay delegates. United in this General Association there are now six local Associations. And what still more distinctly marks the Puritan character of these ministers and churches is the fact that, at the very first recorded meeting of this General Association, we find the members discussing the question of founding a college; and appointing a committee to fix a location for a college. From this incipient discussion has come to us Washburn College, in Topeka, with its collegiate, preparatory and commercial courses of instruction. It has a fine college building, which cost about sixty five thousand dollars, a noble campus of one hundred and sixty acres adjoining the city, an endowment fund which promises to be one hundred thousand dollars soon, and an efficient president and board of instruction, and numerous students. This college was incorporated February 6th, 1865, under the name of Lincoln College; but inasmuch as two other literary institutions had taken the same name, a change was made in November, 1868, and the name of a generous benefactor was taken — the Hon. Ichabod Washburn, of Worcester, Mass.

Topeka is beautifully situated on the southern bank of the Kansas river, about fifty miles from its confluence with the Missouri, at the eastern boundary line of the State, and on the line of the Kansas Pacific railroad. It is handsomely laid out, with streets one hundred and thirty feet wide, crossing each other at right angles. It is the capital of the State, and has a growing population of more than seven thousand souls.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska was discovered and visited by Canadian fur traders as early as 1684-59. Lewis and Clarke, in their explorations of the Missouri river, in 1804-06, passed along its entire eastern and northeastern boundaries; and Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1818-23 went through it from east to west. The first settlements in the Territory were at and around Fort Calhoun, first called Fort Atkinson, near Omaha, in 1820-28. Between 1835 and 1846 the American Board, the Baptists and the Presbyterians all had missionary stations among the Pawnee, the Otoe and the Omaha Indians of this Territory.

But these soldiers and traders, travellers and missionaries, though among the first White men to see and occupy this fine country, contributed but little towards its final and rapid settlement. Fremont's exploration of the South Pass over the Rocky Mountains, in 1842, and of the Salt Lake country about 1845, did more than anything else

To bring Nebraska into public notice, by opening through its entire length a great highway of communications to the Pacific slope; which, from that day to the present, has never ceased to be thronged. These countless travellers made this rich and beautiful country known to the outside world; and not only so, but they gave a powerful impulse to its actual settlement at first by causing ranches and villages to spring up all along their path, and in many instances by becoming themselves settlers there.

Yet after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, May 20th, 1854, the all-absorbing struggle between Freedom and Slavery for the possession of Kansas so occupied the public mind that immigration was diverted from Nebraska, and but few new settlements were made there until 1856-57, when there began again a very considerable inflow of actual settlers, who gradually spread themselves all along the banks of the Missouri river, from the southern boundary of Nebraska to the mouth of the Running Water, a distance of several hundred miles; and up the valley of the Elkhorn, for some fifty miles from its junction with the Platte; and along the valley of the Platte — the great highway between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts — one hundred and fifty miles. But the ruinous financial crisis of 1857-58 stopped all this work, dried up the stream of immigration, and arrested the growth of the new settlements. The discovery of gold at Pike's

Peak, on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, about 1859, revived emigration through Nebraska, quickened the life of the Territory a little, and added somewhat to its population; so that in 1860 it could show an increase of eighteen thousand inhabitants in the course of four years.*

But now, again, the growth of this Territory was checked by the civil war which burst upon the nation in 1861, and by the Indian disturbances which arose about the same time. These untoward events so checked the growth and prosperity of this fine country that Nebraska could not gain admission to the Union as an independent State until 1867 — thirteen years after it was erected into a Territory, and six years after her twin sister, Kansas, had been admitted — having at that time, probably, a population of one hundred thousand souls. From that time to the present, however, the growth of this State has been rapid almost beyond comparison. In 1870 her population lacked but seven of one hundred and twenty-three thousand souls. In 1878, it was nearly three hundred and fourteen thousand, and immigrants were pouring into the State during that summer, at the rate of eight hundred a day.

*In 1855 the aggregate population of Nebraska was only four thousand four hundred and sixty-four, in 1860 it had grown to ten thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, and in 1869 it claimed twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and forty-one inhabitants.

In ten years Nebraska gained in population four hundred per cent., while Illinois, the most wonderful example next to Nebraska, gained in the same number of years one hundred and one per cent.*

And now for some explanation of the attractiveness of Nebraska as a place of settlement.

The present State of Nebraska, though less than one third the area of the Territory erected in 1854, is yet from one hundred and twenty to two hundred miles wide, and about four hundred miles long; including an area of at least seventy-six thousand square miles, or nearly fifty million acres of land. The southeastern part of the State, comprising something more than half the entire Territory, is an agricultural region, covered with a fine, rich, productive soil, varying in depth from one to ten or more feet, which will produce abundant crops of grain of all kinds, and every sort of fruit and vegetables which can be raised anywhere between northern Massachusetts and northern Virginia. But west of longitude 100 the land is better adapted to pasturage than tillage, and it is claimed that a cattle pasture of twenty-three million acres is found there, where still

* The Lincoln (Nebraska) *Journal* of April 3d 1879, says: "Never in the history of Nebraska has such an immigration poured into our State at this season of the year as there is to-day. Trains arriving from the East, South, and North are loaded daily, and our streets are thronged with white-covered wagons. The spring of 1879 will be remembered as 'immigration year.'"

grow the succulent buffalo, mesquite, and gama-grasses, on which the countless herds of wild cattle fed for centuries, and which are still the favorite herbage for the Kansas and Texas cattle destined for the Eastern shambles.

The climate of Nebraska, from its central position, between the North and the South, must of course be mild. The winters are short; the snows are light, and cattle can graze in the fields all winter. There is but little malaria in the State, and the chief drawback to the climate is the rough, cold winds which sweep over this elevated country in the winter.*

But all these natural advantages and these strong recommendations — many and great as they confessedly are — would not of themselves secure the rapid and most extraordinary influx of permanent settlers into the State which is now and has for some time been in progress there. It is her railroad system, and that of others whose roads converge upon her soil, which is doing more for the rapid settlement of Nebraska than any peculiar advantages which she possesses over neighboring States and Territories. Into Nebraska all the great trunk roads of the East and West, the North and South, pour their myriads of passengers and their countless tons of freight; and her own roads make it easy to distribute

* The mean elevation of the State above the level of the sea is about two thousand five hundred feet.

These passengers and freight over the State, or to bear them onward through the State to their destination West or East, North or South.

The American Home Missionary Society from the very first appreciated the importance of Nebraska as a missionary field; and "its messengers were the first standard-bearers of that peaceful army that claimed, and by the grace of God will hold, the virgin soil of Kansas and Nebraska for truth and freedom." *

Early in the year 1855—a few months only after the country was erected into a Territory, and when there were but a few hundred Whites in the whole country—the attention of the committee of the society was specially called to "Omaha City," which had then been laid out but a few months, and had only five hundred inhabitants. Yet, its ultimate growth and importance, at the head of the valley of the Platte, along which was the highway of the nations, was clearly foreseen by the committee, and their first messenger was commissioned for Omaha; "a mission," they said, "of much promise . . . at the portal of this great Territory, . . . a large portion of which presents unrivalled attractions to the agriculturist, and which must soon be occupied by tens of thousands for whose spiritual welfare the charities and prayers of God's people will be invoked."

* *Thirtieth Report American Home Missionary Society*, pp. 86, 87, 82.

This messenger, and the first Congregational minister to enter Nebraska for the purpose of making his home there, was the Rev. Reuben Gaylord, seventeen years a missionary in Iowa. In the autumn of 1855, while on a journey West, he crossed from Council Bluffs to Omaha, simply, it would seem, to see the new Territory, which was just then attracting much public attention. Being known as a clergyman, he was invited to preach to the people on the Sabbath. After the service a Congregational gentleman who had emigrated from Vermont, and had been lieutenant-governor of Michigan, a Mr. Richardson, invited Mr. Gaylord to remain at Omaha and become his minister. To this Mr. Gaylord was not prepared to give an immediate answer. But the suggestion was like a seed dropped in good ground; and on his way home it germinated in the mind of the missionary, and took such root that, after consulting with his family and his ministerial friends in Iowa, he decided to retrace his steps to Omaha, and begin anew his pioneer missionary work, impressed with the deep conviction that Omaha was a point of great prospective importance.

Mr. Gaylord went to this new field of labor entirely on his own responsibility; but he informed the American Home Missionary Society of his movements, and asked for a new commission. To this they promptly responded by a commission dated November 15th, 1855, and a pledge of six hundred dollars towards his support — about half

what it cost in those hard times to support a family in that new country.

Mr. Gaylord went to work with a will, and with the discretion which his long missionary experience had taught him; and was eminently successful, gathering such a congregation around him as soon required the building of a meeting-house. But so rapid was the growth of his society that it was found necessary to enlarge the house even before it was finished. This was the first meeting-house erected in Nebraska. And while this work was going on, the good people of the place were greatly cheered and strengthened by the manifestations of the Divine Presence among them; and on the 4th of May, 1856, a Congregational church of nine members was formed—the first in the Territory.

A week after this, on the 11th of May, 1856, Mr. Gaylord organized another Congregational church at Fontanelle, a beautiful village on the Elkhorn, some thirty-five miles northwest of Omaha. This place had been selected in 1853, by a colony of intelligent Christian people from Illinois, who furnished twenty-four members for the second Congregational church in Nebraska.

From Omaha and Fontanelle, Mr. Gaylord extended his labors to Bellevue, a thriving village fifteen miles below Omaha. He went also to Florence and Fort Calhoun, fifteen and twenty-one miles above Omaha, on the Missouri, and there organized Congregational churches in 1856. The

next year, "Father Gaylord" — for he was verily the father of Congregationalism in Nebraska — made his way sixty miles up the river, and organized a church at Decatur. Next we find him at Brownville, seventy-five miles south, where he organized another Congregational church.

Mr. Gaylord's great success in Nebraska encouraged the Home Missionary Society to appoint a second missionary, the Rev. Thomas Waller, in July, 1856. Everything then indicated a rapid increase of population and a corresponding increase of churches. In the course of 1856 the population increased from five thousand to twenty thousand; and it was expected to reach fifty thousand before the close of 1857.

In 1856 the Rev. Isaac E. Heaton, apparently self-moved, as was Mr. Gaylord — or rather, specially directed by the hand of God — went to Nebraska, and, after reconnoitering for awhile, located at the village of Fremont, some thirty miles northwest of Omaha, on the Platte, and there organized a Congregational church sometime in 1857. Thence he extended his labors to Albion and Franklin also. In 1858 there appear to have been Congregational churches formed at Plattford and at Nemaha City. In 1858-59, Rev. T. W. Tipton and Rev. E. B. Hurlbut were added to the Congregational ministers of Nebraska.*

* For most of the particulars about the first Congregational movements in Nebraska, I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Gaylord's manuscript letters. See, also, "Reminiscences of Early Mission-

Thus it appears that in three years the Congregational churches in Nebraska increased to eight, their ministers to four, and their church members from nine to one hundred and forty-four. But now, suddenly, every enterprise, secular as well as religious, was brought to a stand. Immigration stopped; the development of the country was arrested; few or no new churches were formed; old ones were broken up, or weakened and discouraged by the removal of members, and, in many instances, by the return to the East of members who had become impoverished and ruined in their struggle with hard times. And from this time onward for nine or ten years — from about 1858 to 1868 — Congregationalism made but very moderate progress in Nebraska. In 1863 a little light was let in upon the darkness by the beginning of the Union Pacific Railroad and its progress across the Territory. This enterprise brought in immigrants, encouraged the old settlers, and gave a breath of new, fresh life to all. One church — that at Nebraska City — was organized this year. In 1864 another was organized, at Salt Creek; and in 1865, still another, at Avoca. With the close of the secession war, in April, 1865, prosperity began most manifestly to shine upon Nebraska again. In 1866, a large increase of population was witnessed in connection

ary Experiences," published in the *Minutes of the 22d meeting of the General Association of Nebraska, 1878.*

with the completion of the first hundred miles of the Union Pacific Railroad to Columbus; and the completion of three hundred miles of this railroad, in 1867, gave a further impulse to business, and made the year one of constant and increasing activity in all departments: farms, towns, cities springing into life in every direction. The climax of prosperity was reached when the Union Pacific—four hundred and fifty-six miles of which went directly through the centre of Nebraska—and the Central Pacific from California met and formed an indissoluble union at Ogden, in Utah, May, 1869. In 1870, the homestead law brought thousands of farmers into the State, and generally a sober and industrious class, with many religious persons. Eight thousand eight hundred and fifty-one homesteads were taken, and as many pre-emptions filed in the course of this single year; and this deep, broad stream of immigrants has continued to flow in ever since. The estimated increase of actual settlers in 1871 was fifty thousand. In 1878 the State claimed to have more than three hundred thousand inhabitants; and to-day (February 25th, 1880) it undoubtedly has nearer half a million than three hundred thousand.

The Congregational churches of Nebraska have, of course, felt the stimulus of these more prosperous days which have followed the secession war. In 1866 five new churches were formed; and in the course of the next five years twenty-seven

more were added to our list. In 1872 a great wave of prosperity swept over the State, and as many new churches were formed as during the four preceding years, namely: twenty-six! And in the course of the next six years, 1873-78, fifty-two new churches were added to the Nebraska General Association. According to these figures, one hundred and fifteen or sixteen Congregational churches were formed in Nebraska in the course of twenty-three years — since 1856. But, of these, ten or eleven are not now on our list, some having united with other churches, and so lost their personal identity; others, weakened and depleted by the "hard times," being compelled to give up and die. This leaves the present number of Congregational churches in Nebraska one hundred and five, and of church members two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, served by sixty-six ministers.*

These churches and ministers are organized into a General Association and into four District Associations. The General Association was formed in August, 1857, when there were but three Congregational churches in the Territory. These associations are composed of ministers and delegates from the churches — men or women, as the churches may severally elect; not unfrequently, one of each sex. The Articles of Faith adopted by these associations are sound and good, moder-

* *Congregational Year-Book*, 1879.

ately Calvinistic, and very comprehensive. The Constitution and By-Laws are excellent. At first, the General Association acted as a Consociation, examining, licensing and ordaining ministers, if requested so to do.

From this brief survey of the rise and progress of Congregationalism in Nebraska, we pass to another related topic of great interest to these churches, namely: that of education -- the highest and best attainable, as well as that suited more particularly to the wants of the masses. The Congregational churches of Nebraska began early to vindicate their Pilgrim and Puritan descent, by efforts to establish a Christian college to secure competent teachers for their common schools, as well as ministers for their churches.

As early as 1855, a colony from Quincy, Illinois, began a settlement at Fontanelle, on the bluffs of the Elkhorn. In plotting their grounds, a tract of one hundred acres or more was marked off as "college grounds." Some of the leading men in this enterprise being Baptists, it was first agreed that the college should be under their special guidance. But they failing to establish a school, the grounds were then offered to the Congregationalists, with a very liberal charter for a college. This offer was accepted by the Congregationalists; and they went resolutely to work to improve this opportunity to secure a Christian college in the Territory. The result we find reported by

the committee of the American Home Missionary Society, in 1859: "In the face of difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable, the brethren upon this field have succeeded in laying the foundations of what we trust will prove a literary institution of high character; a building has been erected, and the preparatory department of the 'Nebraska University' has been in operation at Fontanelle since the first of December, 1858." *

For several years the Association continued its fostering care of Fontanelle Academy. In the meantime educational enterprises were started in two or three other places, which called for the attention and patronage of the churches, and occasioned much discussion in the meetings of the General Association. In 1871 it was finally concluded that it was not best, at that time, to locate a college; but wiser to foster the interests of academies, to be feeders for a college. But, at the same time, the sympathy and good will of the Association was pledged to the people of Fontanelle, Milford and Crete, in their efforts to establish first-class academies at their respective points. Still, the Association clung to the purpose of establishing "*one* college of their own in the State;" and very handsome offers of pecuniary and other aid were made by the towns of Crete and of Milford and of Weeping Water, to induce the Asso-

* The 33d Report of the American Home Missionary Society, p. 98, anno 1859.

ciation to place this one college within their bounds.

The long-mooted question was finally settled at the meeting of the Association at Omaha, June, 1872. A very able report was there presented by the Standing Committee on Education, in which the history of Congregational colleges in this country was briefly reviewed, to show that the denomination had always regarded colleges as indispensable to the highest interests of the churches; and had, through poverty and self-denial in multiplied instances, struggled on with them to final success. The committee then laid before the Association the liberal offer of "the little town of Crete," of land, buildings, and cash subscriptions, to the full value of twenty-nine thousand five hundred dollars, toward the establishment of a Christian college in that town; and recommended that the offer be accepted and the college be located at Crete.

Crete, though at that time but a little town, is now a thriving city in the very heart of the settled part of the State, and in immediate proximity to most of the Congregational churches of the State.*

* Along the Burlington and Missouri Railroad, west of Crete, there are Congregational churches every few miles towards Kearney. Not less than fifteen of our churches are found within about eighty miles, on either side of the railroad. And in all the region between the Burlington and Missouri Railroad and the Platte river, about the same distance from Crete, there

A beginning had been made at Crete, in the establishment of an academy, before the Association decided to locate there; and this academy was made the preparatory department of the college, which was formally and legally established at Crete, June 11th, 1872. One of its most active and liberal friends was Thomas Doane, chief engineer and superintendent of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad; and for him the institution was named. Mr. Doane is a Massachusetts man, and, singularly enough, was a member of the same Congregational church in Charlestown with which William Carleton was connected; whose generosity is commemorated in the name of "Carleton College," Northfield, Minnesota.

Doane College, like most of the Western institutions of its class, admits to all its various departments of instruction females as well as males. And though in its early infancy, it is very carefully organized to meet the wants of the community in which it is located, and of the whole country around; and is furnished with teachers qualified to carry a student through a thorough collegiate course of four years, or a superior scientific course of the same length; or a preparatory course of three years; or a superior English course of the same length; or a common English course of instruction.

are even more Congregational churches than on the line of the railroad. In fact, the great body of our churches is south of the Platte; as, indeed, are the settlements generally. This is true to-day; how it may be a few years hence, is uncertain.

All the Congregational churches in the State are pledged to aid this, their college, and are now actually engaged — every Sunday school, even, taking part in the work — in erecting a fine brick building for general college uses. They only ask of outside friends help for poor scholars, and for books and apparatus, and endowment of professorships. The progress of this college has been steady and most encouraging. Beginning with one professor and fifteen students in 1872-73, it had in 1878-79 four teachers and one hundred and thirty-eight students.

The location of the college, overlooking the beautiful valley of the Big Blue river, is all that can be desired, and its grounds are ample in extent. The college is endowed with a number of valuable house lots in the city, and with hundreds of acres of land near the city, amounting in all to about fifty thousand dollars in estimated value; though its productive funds are not half that sum. It is, however, free of debt; and it is a settled point with its officers and managers, that, suffer what they may, they will not incur debts to be a millstone around their necks.*

NOTE. A little semi-monthly publication entitled *Literary and Educational Notes*, commenced in 1878, is very suggestive of the

* For the materials of this sketch of Doane College, I am indebted very much to my correspondence with the Rev. D. B. Perry, the president of the college, and to various printed documents furnished at my request; also, to the *Minutes* of the General Association from 1867 to 1878; and to the Rev. H. Bates, the agent of this college in the Eastern States.

Interest felt in educational matters in Nebraska, and of the important part which our Congregational missionaries have borne in this work. It is designed to furnish a medium of communication between teachers of all grades, and a supply of all news items interesting to teachers, together with helps to their important work. It is, or was, published and edited by the Rev. Lebbeus B. Fifield, of Kearney, an old home missionary of the American Home Missionary Society — a gentleman of thorough education, a graduate of Amherst in the class of 1853, a missionary in the West since 1866, and since 1870 in Nebraska. He is now one of the regents of the State University, a trustee of Doane College and moderator of the schools of Kearney. True to the denominational traditions, Mr. Fifield and his Congregational associates have everywhere built the school-house by the church — where one building did not serve both purposes — and have done their full share to secure competent teachers for the common schools, while they have been indefatigable in securing educational institutions of a higher order. — *Home Missionary*, June, 1878, p. 40.

CHAPTER X.

CALIFORNIA, LOWER AND UPPER — OREGON AND WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

THE journey from Nebraska to California by rail is direct and easy; and if the reader pleases we will go there next.

Lower, or Old California — a narrow peninsula about eight hundred miles long and one hundred wide — was known to the Spaniards as early as 1532-42, and often visited by them, in pursuit of the gold and precious stones which it was reputed to contain. But every expedition to this strange country failed utterly of its contemplated object, and discouraged all attempts to effect a permanent settlement of the peninsula until about 1698-1767, when, with great difficulty, the Jesuit fathers at length succeeded in founding several "missions," as they were called, along the coast. But the country at large was not settled at all, except immediately around these missions, or plantations, of the Jesuits. The land had a bad name, as unproductive and barren, and the fathers would allow of no gold-hunting around their premises.

In 1767, at the time when the Jesuit order was in very bad repute, and when some of the principal Catholic governments of Europe were petitioning the pope for its entire suppression, the

Spanish government wrested the missions from the Jesuits, banished them from California, and gave their property to the Franciscans. These enterprising and shrewd friars set themselves immediately to improve the missions in Lower California, and lost no time in pushing their way up the coast into Alta California, until they had a string of settlements along the entire coast as far north as the great bay which they discovered, and named for their patron, St. Francis — San Francisco. With so much energy, indeed, was their work forwarded, that, in the course of fifty or sixty years, "mendicant friars" had mission settlements, some twenty or thirty miles apart from centre to centre, but touching each other, for five hundred miles along the coast, from San Diego in the South to Sonoma in the North; and, at the time of the Mexican Revolution, they were in possession of the best part of the coast-land of California, and were the owners of a million two hundred thousand head of cattle, one hundred thousand horses, and twelve or fifteen thousand mules, a million of sheep and thousands of hogs, and a million or more of dollars in cash, accumulated by their thriving trade in hides, tallow, wool, and wine. So much had these mendicants done for themselves. As for the natives of the country, they had converted twenty or thirty thousand into hewers of wood and drawers of water — bond-servants to the missions; but the great mass of them in the interior of the country were left in utter ignorance and heathenism.

This being the condition of California at time of the Mexican Revolution (1813-23) government of the Republic had little hesitancy in taking possession of the immense estates of the Franciscans, and appropriating them to the use of the government, while to the friars were left only the care of the spiritualities of their missions. At the same time, the country was thrown open as it never had been before to permanent settlers of all nations.

Under the operations of this new policy California soon had a very considerable number of new settlers, among whom were many Americans. The revolt of Texas, one of the Federal States of Mexico, in 1835-36, the acknowledgment of its independence by the United States in 1837, and above all, the admission of the new State into the American Union in 1845, brought on the war with Mexico in 1846-47; one of the first fruits of which was the capture of California and New Mexico by the Americans, and the annexation of the same to the United States. By the treaty of peace in 1848, Mexico ceded to the American Republic Alta California, New Mexico, and the whole territory now known as Nevada, Arizona, and Utah, and a part of Colorado and Texas, being nearly all the vast and unoccupied region of country claimed by Mexico northward for a distance of seven hundred miles, and from the Pacific coast eastward from eight to ten hundred miles.

Alta California stretches along the entire

cific coast of this new territory about seven hundred miles; and inward from the coast, about two hundred miles, including an area of nearly one hundred and ninety square miles, or more than one hundred million acres of land. But nearly one third of this area is occupied by the great mountain ranges which extend in parallel lines nearly the entire length of the State, and the numerous spurs and groups of mountains which stretch east and west from the great ranges. These mountains divide the State into several quite distinct sections, and serve to give it as many distinct climatic and other peculiarities as there are great divisions.

Alta California — for Lower California is still Mexican territory — had been United States territory but a few months before the gold, which the Spaniards for successive ages had been hungering for, was suddenly uncovered to American eyes by the merest apparent accident — the process of enlarging the sluice-way of Sutter's saw-mill at the junction of the American and the Sacramento rivers, about one hundred miles northeast of San Francisco.

This discovery was made in February, 1849, and speedily changed the whole face of California. In the course of about one month there were a hundred and fifty persons on Sutter's land, living in tents and shanties, intent on securing their share of the newly discovered treasures of the place, overrunning Sutter's lands and disregarding

all his personal rights. But these were only the pioneers of an advancing host of gold-seekers, speculators, gamblers, thieves, knaves, and murderers; and withal a sprinkling of honest, good men, who hoped to retrieve their broken fortunes in this "land of Havilah where there is gold." In four years' time the settlement at Sutter's Fort grew into the city of Sacramento, with twelve thousand inhabitants. And in every direction where a trace of gold could be found, there was a corresponding increase of settlers, so that the White population of Upper California, which in 1845 was estimated at about ten thousand souls, grew to ninety-two thousand five hundred in 1850; and to two hundred and fifty thousand in 1852; and to about three hundred and eighty thousand in 1860; and in 1875, to about six hundred and ninety thousand six hundred.*

Though the rich mineral productions of California — her gold and silver and precious stones, her cinnabar — rare and precious, her copper, lead,

* *Bryant's California*, in J. Morrison Harris' paper upon California, before the Maryland Historical Society. This valuable compend of early California history has been very useful to me in making this sketch.

Mr. Harris copies from the *New York Herald* a statement that there had cleared from the United States for California, before the end of March, 1849, no less than two hundred and seventy different vessels, carrying seventeen thousand three hundred and forty-one persons. And to these must be added the many thousands who had gone overland from this country, and from other countries.

tin, iron, coal and nearly every other valuable mineral production of the world — though these constituted the grand attraction to the gathering thousands of people within her borders, these, after all, are not the most precious things of California. In the variety of her climates, and the corresponding variety of her soils — by means of which this single State can produce everything that can be made to grow in North America — wheat and corn, vegetables of all kinds, fruits of every description — everything that is pleasant to the sight and good for food and needful for man's convenience may be abundantly raised in some part of this wonderful land which the Lord God has made a very Eden.*

Among the early emigrants to California — even before the discovery of gold there — were some decided Congregationalists, both ministers and laymen. The Rev. Timothy Dwight Hunt, a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1840, was the first Congregational minister, and, in fact, the first Protestant minister to enter California; serving as town chaplain of San Francisco from

*I know not where else so much minute and interesting information about California can be found within the same compass as in two large volumes of tracts which may be found in the Boston Public Library. They comprise Sketches of Travel and Personal Observations, Addresses and Discourses, Papers relating to the Country, Official Reports, Statistical and other information, prepared expressly for the Centennial Exhibition in 1876.

November, 1848, to July 24th, 1849. Two other Congregational ministers found their way to that country in 1849 — the Rev. Joseph A. Benton, of Yale College, 1842, and afterwards Professor of Sacred Literature in the Pacific Theological Seminary, and the Rev. Samuel V. Blakeslee, of the Western Reserve College, Ohio, 1844, and of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, 1847; afterwards editor of the *Pacific* newspaper, which was a most important auxiliary in the work of civilizing and Christianizing California.

The Old School Presbyterians claim to have formed the first Protestant church in the Territory as early as May 20th, 1849, at San Francisco.*

The first Congregational church in California was organized at San Francisco, July 29th, 1849, and embraced eleven members. It is still living, and has the largest membership of any Congrega-

* *MS. Letter from the Rev. George Moor, dated Oakland, October 2d, 1860.* He says Mr. Hunt was a New School Presbyterian, though he became the pastor of the first Congregational church in California. But Mr. Hunt's name is in the list of ministers in the earliest *Congregational Year-Book*, 1864, and he is spoken of by Prof. Benton in his *First Quarter-Century of Congregationalism in California* as identified with the earliest Congregational movements in the State [page 35]. — Mr. Moor says, "Mr. Benton (Rev. J. A. Benton) was the earliest Congregational minister, never in any other ecclesiastical relation, to land in California. [It should be added, that the Report of the Presbyterian Board of Missions for 1850 claims for the church at Benicia the distinction of being the first Protestant church in California. — G. B. J.]

tional church in the State, namely: five hundred and seventy-one, though four other Congregational churches have grown up by its side, containing an aggregate of seven hundred and twenty members; making a total of twelve hundred and ninety-one Congregational church members in that city in 1878. On the 16th of September, 1849, a church of twelve members was organized at Sacramento, now the capital of California. This church has now a membership of two hundred and twenty-one souls.

During the chaotic period, about 1850, religious institutions had but a small chance to live, much less to prosper. A few Congregational churches were indeed organized, but not one survived the year. One great denominational event, however, marks this year, namely: the calling of the first ecclesiastical council ever convened in California. This came together on the 26th of June, 1850, "to review the action, recognize the relation, and give fraternal advice" to the church in San Francisco, in reference to the call and installation of the Rev. T. D. Hunt as pastor of that church. This first and pattern council was pronounced "a success." "All its parts were so well ordered and timely, and in all respects so appropriate, as to make a very salutary impression, and to introduce the denomination handsomely to the general public and very warmly to all Christian people." *

* *The Quarter-Centennial of Congregational Churches in Calif.*

At the close of 1850, there were but just two Congregational churches in California: one in San Francisco, and the other in Sacramento, neither of which was indebted to the American Home Missionary Society for its existence; for, though that society had sent out four missionaries prior to the fall of 1850, they were all Presbyterians. But, before the year closed, two more Congregational ministers arrived: the Rev. T. W. Hines, from Iowa, and the Rev. J. H. Warren.*

On the 5th of March, 1851, the second ecclesiastical council was called, "to advise the church at Sacramento regarding the call and settlement of its pastor."

In the spring of 1851, the Rev. J. H. Warren, who arrived in the State near the close of 1850, made his way to Nevada, one of the most populous and flourishing settlements in the mining regions along the slopes of the Sierras, about one hundred and thirty miles northeast of San Francisco. His labors there were so successful that on the 28th

foria: p. 35 in the *Minutes* of the 18th Annual Meeting of the General Association of California, 1874.

* Whether by accident, necessity or design, the managers of the American Home Missionary Society continued for twelve years to send to California Presbyterian missionaries largely in excess of the Congregationalists. About the time that the New School Presbyterians broke away from the American Home Missionary Society (1881), because, as it was alleged, it did not do Presbyterians full justice, the society had actually built up twenty Presbyterian churches in California, to nine Congregational churches.— *First Quarter-Century*.

of September, 1851, he was able to organize the first Congregational church among the mountains, and the third in order of time in the State. At the same time he dedicated for their use one of the first meeting-houses built in California for Congregationalists. The Nevada church is still alive and flourishing, with ninety-five members in 1878-79.

About the time that Mr. Warren went to Nevada Mr. Hines went to Santa Cruz, on Monterey Bay, seventy-five miles south of San Francisco, and after a few months gathered a small church, to which he preached for some time. A reorganization of the church was effected in 1857, and the church has continued to live and thrive until this day, when it reports about one hundred and nineteen members; though there are five other churches of different denominations around it, in a population of less than three thousand souls.

Thus, at the close of the year 1851, four Congregational ministers were at work on fields of their own selection — remote from each other, but in quite important centres of business and population, having four churches under their pastoral care, and doing, besides, much outside work in their respective neighborhoods.

The Rev. Tyler Thacher, another New England Congregationalist, arrived in California just at the close of 1851, and located at Marysville, in Yuba county, at the junction of Feather and Yuba rivers, fifty-two miles north of Sacramento, just in-

incorporated in 1851, but now an important place, with a city population of about five thousand souls, with eight churches. His special purpose was to establish a private school of a high order, while he preached in the neighborhood as he might have opportunity. His scholarship, piety and general excellence of character qualified him for both teaching and preaching. But his school did not succeed, and after awhile he secured a farm near Marysville, and earned his living by cultivating it, while he devoted his Sundays to preaching almost gratuitously to the miners and traders on the bars of the Yuba river.

In August of this year (1851) appeared the first number of a religious newspaper, *The Pacific*, the joint work of the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers of the State.

The chief denominational event of 1852 was the organization, in the spring of the year, of the Congregational Association of California. Previously, the Congregational ministers had met with the Presbytery of San Francisco, which had been promptly organized according to Presbyterian custom, in the course of 1849, when there were but two or three New School Presbyterian ministers and perhaps two churches in the State, one of which was the "Independent Presbyterian church, the members of which were nearly all Congregationalists." * But before the close of

* *Twenty-six Years' Work of the American Home Missionary Society in California.* By Rev. James H. Warren.

1852, the Presbyterians had organized four or five churches.

The Congregationalists, having now five ministers and four churches, thought it best to organize an Association of their own, while still cherishing fraternal relations with the Presbyterians, and continuing to hold occasional union meetings with them, to consult on matters of material interest; and it deserves special notice, that there was from the very first a coöperative courtesy and friendliness between the two denominations in California, hardly to be matched — certainly not to be exceeded — by anything witnessed in the early history of our Western States. The explanation of this phenomenon is perhaps due to the fact that, "of the Presbyterian ministers who reached California in 1849, all but one were of New England birth, descent, or education; and were more or less in sympathy with the principles and polity of the Pilgrims." *

The organization of the Congregational Association, and the gathering of a Presbyterian church at Centreville, are all the notable indications of denominational and evangelical life that appear in our quarter-centennial record under the year 1852; and if we recall the fact that it was in 1851 that the chaotic and desperate state of society in California compelled good men

* Prof J. A. Benton, in *Quarter-Century of Congregationalism in California*, p. 25.

and true to combine and take the administration of justice out of the hands of the constituted judges and officers of the law — they being found hopelessly corrupt, and actually in league with the most desperate rogues and villains and murderers in the country — if this state of society is considered, it will sufficiently explain why there was so little church-building in California about that time. In fact, Christian men were then just ready to despair of California; particularly, when the wicked plot to divide the land, and make the southern part slave territory, was first openly developed, and the great confidence and unexpected strength of the slavery propagandists was witnessed. The appearance of the cholera and the recurrence of destructive fires cast a yet deeper shadow over the prospect; and the year went out in darkness and gloom. On the 24th of February, 1853, the good ship "Trade Wind" arrived at San Francisco, bringing six home missionaries and their families to be permanent settlers in the country; and soon another clergyman and scholar arrived, who came at his own charges, to devote himself to the cause of Christian education. Four of these good men were Presbyterians, and three were Congregationalists. The Congregationalists were Rev. William C. Pond, John G. Hale, and Henry Durant. Mr. Durant was a gentleman of learning and culture, and a veteran teacher. He emigrated from Byfield, Massachusetts, the home of Dummer Academy, the oldest academy in New

England; and where was located one of the earliest and most successful female seminaries of Massachusetts. From the time of his arrival in California he was identified with every effort to promote collegiate education in the State, and always proved himself both a competent and efficient laborer.

In May, 1853, the Presbytery and the Association met together and concerted a plan for an institution of learning under the charge of Mr. Durant; and this was the beginning of the "Contra Costa Academy," afterwards called "the College School," then the "College of California," out of all which came the "State University," of which Mr. Durant, who was the first principal of the academy, became the president.*

In other respects this year was a notable one in our history. Three new Congregational churches were organized, and the number of Congregational ministers was proportionally increased — both being doubled. One of these new churches was formed at Grass Valley, the very centre of the gold quartz mining district of the State, some eighty miles northeast of Sacramento. It is now a thriving, populous town of seven thousand inhabitants, with six churches of different orders, and the seat of the Roman Catholic bishop. The Congregational brethren seem generally to have selected important points for their early churches: as San

* *First Quarter-Century and Sub. Ann.*

Francisco, Sacramento, Santa Cruz, Nevada, and Grass Valley. The church which was formed at Mokelumne Hill, in Calaveras county, about forty-five miles southeast of Sacramento, though in the centre of quartz mining, and a shire-town, was not a success. Feeble at its birth, it never exceeded nine communicants during the first five years of its existence, and now has simply a name to live, though in fact dead. But the town itself has never greatly thriven, the population in 1876 being only eight hundred and fifty souls.

The third church, organized in 1853, was called the Greenwich Street Church, San Francisco. This church had thirty members in 1857, but is not now on our list, though five Congregational churches are prospering in that same city. A single church—that at Petaluma—was added to our list in 1854; but this was well located at the head of navigation on Petaluma Creek, forty-two miles north of San Francisco—with which it is now connected by a daily line of steamers—in the centre of a prosperous agricultural and stock-raising region. The Congregational church there has prospered with the town, and has now a membership of one hundred and seventy-five souls.

From this survey of Congregational history in California for five years—to the close of 1854—it appears that there were then twelve ministers, nine churches, and about three hundred and fifty church members of our faith in the State; and

this much had been accomplished in the face of obstacles of the most serious character, and in a country where previously not more than one — if even one — Protestant minister or church of any denomination could be found. And besides thus placing themselves fairly before the people of this new State, with its heterogeneous population, as the advocates of an orderly and efficient church polity, and the devoted friends of sound, evangelical doctrine, the Congregationalists had also demonstrated their readiness to plant and sustain all social, educational, benevolent and religious institutions and organizations which promised in any way to improve, elevate and sanctify the people of the land. This surely was a great and good work done.

If we move forward from 1854 ten years, we shall find, not a great advance, to be sure, but a reasonable one, and an encouraging one considering all the circumstances of the case. In 1865 there were twenty-seven Congregational ministers in California, serving nineteen or twenty churches, which had almost one thousand communicants. During that year eight new churches were added to the list, making twenty-eight or twenty-nine in all, with more than twelve hundred members. In two years more — to the close of 1867 — our churches had increased to forty, and our church members to nearly two thousand. At the close of another period of five years our churches numbered fifty-five, our ministers the same, and our

church members nearly twenty-six hundred. The last returns—to September, 1878—twenty-nine years and one month from the time of the first church organization in California—give us seventy-nine Congregational churches, seventy ministers, and four thousand four hundred church members.

Before concluding this sketch of Congregationalism in California, more particular reference should be made to the interest of its ministers and churches in education—a distinguishing characteristic of the denomination wherever found. A body of men calling themselves Congregationalists, who were not the warm friends and earnest promoters of education among the people, and of the best possible education of the ministers and other professional men of the community, would be pronounced *pseudo*-Congregationalists. It has already been noticed that, before the close of 1851, four, at least, thoroughly educated Congregational ministers had made California their home, with a special view to the promotion of education—Messrs. Benton, Blakeslee, Durant and Thacher; and they were all very competent and successful educators, and contributed largely to the promotion of the cause in different directions in California.

Mr. Blakeslee had made so much progress in 1850 towards establishing a Christian college near San José, in the beautiful Santa Clara valley,

fifty miles south of San Francisco, that a site for a building had been secured, and pledges in land and money to support the institution, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, had been obtained. But the removal of the State capital to Sacramento, and the absence of the projector from the State, caused the failure of this promising enterprise.

Mr. Thacher, as we have seen, came to California for the special purpose of establishing a school of a high order, and he accomplished his purpose; but in the general rush after gold, his school was suffered to die; while he devoted himself mainly to preaching.

Mr. Benton and Mr. Durant were both successful educators from the time of their arrival. Mr. Durant has gone to his reward, but Mr. Benton is President of the Congregational Theological Seminary at Oakland.

Subsequently to 1853 — when the Congregationalists united with the Presbyterians, and laid the foundations of a school and a college which ultimately emerged into the State University of California and passed entirely beyond their control — the denomination established at Oakland, six miles east of San Francisco, the Golden Gate Academy and the Pacific Theological Seminary — the academy occupying a part of the seminary premises; both still under the special charge of their founders. At the same time, the denomination has been an earnest, efficient advocate for un-

denominational free schools and normal schools, and has contributed freely towards the support of higher educational institutions. In short, the Congregationalists of California have fully justified their claim to be lineal descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England, by their regard for education. But, after all, they have not attained the special end and purpose which they had in view from the first—the establishment of a Christian college such as most of the new States of the West have secured for themselves. And they are far from feeling satisfied with their mistake. But whether they can now remedy their failure, and secure for themselves a thoroughly Christian collegiate institution, may be questionable.*

OREGON AND WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

The State of Oregon as now meted and bounded extends northward from California and Nevada about two hundred and fifty miles, to the Columbia river; and eastward from the Pacific ocean about three hundred and fifty miles, to the Snake

* In relation to this matter, Rev. Mr. Moor, of Oakland, California, wrote to the author in 1869. "Congregationalists have no claim and no participation in any college in our State. They had one in the college of California, which was started by them, in connection with the New School Presbyterians. But the trustees have merged the college in the University of California, a State institution. We have been badly sold out in that matter; and our own brethren have sold us. It was a bad bargain which they made."

or Lewis river; including an area of about ninety-five thousand three hundred square miles. It is in general a mountainous country, with many lakes and rivers; but it has also many fertile valleys, which are in fact quite a distinctive characteristic of the country.

Three parallel ranges of mountains traverse the State from south to north: the Coast range, parallel with the coast, and distant from it forty to seventy miles, of moderate elevation, with wooded slopes and much fertile land; the Cascade range, sixty or more miles east of the Coast range, with a general elevation of from five to seven thousand feet, and peaks—some of them volcanic—of from ten to fourteen thousand feet high; and the Blue mountains, from thirty to one hundred miles east of the Cascades, which seem to fill up no inconsiderable part of the eastern half of Oregon. Beyond these mountains is the basin of the Snake river, the principal affluent of the Columbia, with its beautiful and fertile valleys.

The valleys of Oregon are indeed its crown of glory. The valley of the Willamette, between the Cascade and Coast ranges, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles long, and from thirty to sixty miles wide, is the very garden of the State, containing some five million acres of fine, rich land. In this valley are as yet the principal towns of the State. The Umpqua valley, in southwestern Oregon, is another fine productive region, with about two and a half million acres of

choice land. The Rogue river valley, still further south, is about as extensive and as rich as the Umpqua valley.

Eastern Oregon has been subjected to stupendous volcanic disturbances, and is valuable mainly for its mineral deposits, which are very rich; including gold and silver, iron of a superior quality, and coal everywhere.

Western Oregon is one of the best agricultural sections of the United States. Its grasses and grains and cereal productions, and the excellence and variety of its fruits, won special commendation from the judges of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia. Its wheat is of the finest quality and the heaviest anywhere to be found, weighing from sixty-five to sixty-nine pounds to a bushel, and yielding from thirty to sixty bushels to an acre; while the average of English wheat weighs about sixty-one pounds, and the yield is about thirty-three and a half bushels to the acre.

The climate of Oregon is various. In some parts cattle can graze out all winter, while the extreme north is subject to frosts all the year round. The winters are rainy, but the average rain-fall does not exceed forty-four inches, or about two inches more than the average of the Atlantic States. This State has, on the whole, an equable and temperate climate, it being much modified by the Pacific Ocean.

The country — or rather the coast of Oregon —

was first discovered and visited by the Spaniards, as early as 1592-1640. But their claim as discoverers passed to the French, who sold it to the United States in 1803. But ten years previously, in 1792, Captain Robert Gray, of Tiverton, Rhode Island, in command of a Boston ship, discovered the great river of Oregon, which he explored for some twenty miles, and named after his good ship, the "Columbia." From the time of this discovery to 1810, a brisk trade was kept up by Boston vessels, chiefly with the natives around the river. In 1804-05, Lewis and Clarke completed their exploration of the Columbia from its sources to its mouth; in 1810, Captain Winship, of Boston, built the first house on the river, and in 1811, John Jacob Astor, of New York, established a trading fort on the south side of the river, nine miles from its mouth. All these acts were essentially assertions of right to this territory by the United States as discoverers and purchasers. In 1835, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions entered this interesting and extensive field. They first sent the Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman to explore the country, and in 1836 opened stations among the Nez Perces and Kayuses, and in 1838 among the Flatheads. The missionaries were very kindly received, and for a time the mission work greatly prospered; so that in 1840 four missionaries, one physician, and two male and six female assistants found abundant employment. Great religious interest appeared among

the Indians, so that the missionaries had congregations of two thousand persons, eager to hear the Word; and some thousands of them professed to have received the Christian faith in the love of it. This state of things continued until about 1847, when, during the prevalence of the measles and dysentery in the country, some of the Kayuses became suspicious of the missionaries, and of Dr. Whitman particularly, because they did not stop the fatal diseases. They even charged that the doctor gave poisons to kill the sick. Encouraged probably by the enemies of the missions, these suspicions finally broke out into the wildest savagery. Suddenly a company of hostile Indians fell upon the mission, murdered Dr. Whitman and his wife, and others connected with the mission or settled around it, to the number of twelve persons, while some fifty other persons, chiefly women and children, were carried into captivity.

The Hudson Bay Fur Company and the Jesuit priest employed by them were openly accused of having caused this massacre by prejudicing the Indians against the missionaries.* They wished to

* The Congregational Association of Oregon, at their meeting in 1869, condemned in the strongest terms J. Ross Browne's false, "fallacious and infamous" report of the massacre of 1847 by the Indians, in which Dr. Whitman, with nineteen others, lost his life, and which broke up the mission. What purported to be Browne's report, and was published as Executive Document No. 38, of the Thirty-fifth Congress, the Association says contains twelve pages written by Browne, and fifty-three pages written by a Jesuit priest, by the name of Brullet, who "was, as

keep the country a wilderness in which to raise fur-producing animals. They were therefore opposed to all White settlers in the Territory, especially Americans, and most especially American missionaries and the kind of people likely to be attracted around them.

During the war of 1812-14, Oregon was seized by the British, and held until 1818, breaking up all our settlements and trade on the coast, of which the English were ever jealous. But even after its restoration, it was many years before the country attracted much attention from Americans; our missionaries being the first to make known the true character of the country and to attract settlers into it. And the way missionaries were first introduced into that country was most remarkable and providential. It appears that, sometime in 1832, some wild Indians whose hearts God had touched, sought of an American trapper instruction about the "White man's God," which he, in his ignorance, could not give them; but he told them that, if they would go to St. Louis, they

he himself admits, present at the time of the massacre among the Indians, and at the very place;" and who, as it appears, "was actually baptizing the children of the murdering Indians while the outrage was going on." They assert "that Catholic priests did carry arms and ammunition to the hostile Indians, and when Capt. Rogers, at the Dalles, intercepted these arms, the priests did rigorously threaten that all the Catholic Indians — the French and the Hudson Bay Company's men — would attack said captain if he dared to take said arms and ammunition." — *Report of the Committee of Cong'l Assoc., anno 1880, pp. 8-9.*

could find a man there who would tell them all they wished to know. Taking the trapper at his word, a delegation was sent to St. Louis. There they first searched out their old friend, George Catlin, the painter, who brought them into communication with the Methodists of the city, and the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society decided to establish a mission there; the first missionaries were Jason and Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard and P. L. Edwards, who in the course of 1834 established a most hopeful mission among the Indians of Oregon.

Captain William H. Gray, an old Oregon voyager and traveller, in his *History of Oregon from 1792 to 1849*, speaks repeatedly of the hostility of the English fur companies towards American missionaries and settlements, and charges the introduction of Jesuit missionaries by them to this account. He also gives our missionaries the credit of having saved Oregon to the United States, and having made American settlements there possible. He says: "The American missionaries formed the nucleus around which the American pioneer and family gathered, and from which he drew his encouragement and protection; and a part of these missionaries were the leaders and sustainers of those influences which ultimately secured the country to freedom and the Great Republic."

The following incidents illustrate very forcibly the important agency of our missionaries in

securing Oregon to freedom and the great republic :

Sometime in September, 1842, Dr. Whitman was called to visit a patient at Fort Walla Walla, in what is now Washington Territory. While there, he overheard a young Jesuit priest shout, "Hurrah for Oregon! America is too late! We have got the country!" This burst of enthusiasm was brought out by the news, which had just then reached the fort, that a considerable number of the Red river Scotch colonists had moved into Oregon. The doctor perceived instantly the plan and purpose of the Jesuits and Hudson Bay Company — to get exclusive control of the country; and, knowing that a treaty was about to be made at Washington which involved the fate of Oregon, and knowing, too, that our government had no just appreciation of the value of the immense territory at stake, he instantly resolved that they should know at Washington of the Jesuitical purpose of the Fur Company and their priests, and should hear from one who knew better, probably, than any other living American, a true statement of the value of Oregon to the United States. He therefore started immediately, on horseback, on the long and perilous journey across the mountains in autumn, to Washington, District of Columbia. Arriving safely, though at the hazard of his life, he laid before the President such a statement of facts regarding the vast territory of the Northwest as induced the government to change its

purpose of relinquishing it to Great Britain as a barren and worthless country.

On his return to Oregon, in the summer of 1843, Dr. Whitman conveyed over the Rocky mountains to the plains of the Columbia a large body of emigrants, with nearly two hundred wagons; starting on the last of April, and reaching the Columbia on the 5th of September following — “the greatest work ever accomplished by one man for Oregon.” For this demonstrated the feasibility of an overland passage with emigrant wagons across the mountains, direct to Oregon, which had been constantly declared by the Hudson Bay Company to be an utter impossibility; and so the British authorities had represented it to our government, in order to prove the worthlessness of Oregon for anything but fur-producing. Dr. Whitman thus saved that country to the United States; but he incurred the lasting enmity of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, and lost his life in the attempt to colonize and Christianize the country.*

The American missionaries not only saved Oregon from the Fur Company and barbarism, and proved its accessibility, but they demonstrated also that the soil, instead of being unfit for the use of civilized man, was really very highly productive of essential crops, such as wheat, barley

*See *Gray's History of Oregon*, pp. 60-78, 106, 181, chap. xxxvii, *passim*.

and potatoes — almost beyond that of any other section of the United States.

Emigrants began now to find their way into the country, so that in 1843 the settlers were able to form a provisional government. This, however, was done somewhat by stealth, the Americans gathering in a convention which they called a "wolf meeting," knowing that the Hudson Bay Company would strenuously oppose every attempt to constitute a regular government.*

In 1846, this country, so long in dispute, was finally given up to the United States — the 49° of North latitude being established by the Ashburton treaty as the boundary line between the States and the British dominions; and in August, 1848, Oregon was erected into a Territory, including all the land between the forty-second and the forty-ninth parallels, and all eastward from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains.

This extensive Territory then had about eight thousand inhabitants. These increased to thirteen thousand in 1850; and in 1859, when Oregon became a State, there probably were fifty thousand inhabitants within her bounds; while in 1870 she had nearly ninety-one thousand, and in 1875 nearly one hundred and five thousand.

* Captain Gray says that measure was carried in the convention by only two votes — fifty-two yeas, and fifty nays; and that even this meagre majority could not have been obtained had the Fur Company and the Jesuits fully understood the purpose of the Americans in calling this "wolf meeting." — *Hist. Oregon*, chap. xxxiii.

The first Congregational ministers in Oregon were the missionaries of the American Board, as early as 1836-38. The Rev. E. Walker and the Rev. C. Fells, who were stationed among the Spokan Indians in 1838, are particularly referred to as pioneers of the denomination in Oregon.* But our earliest laborers among the Whites exclusively were the self-supporting home missionaries, Messrs. J. S. Griffin and Harvey Clarke, who began to preach in the Willamette valley in 1840-41, and organized in 1842 the first Congregational church at Hillsboro', Washington county, seventeen miles west of Portland, now a town of about four hundred inhabitants. But it was a small and feeble church at first, and has never grown much, though it is still on our list of churches.

In 1844, Mr. Clarke organized another church, the first Congregational church in Oregon City, about twelve miles south of Portland, and now one of the most flourishing towns in the State, with a population of about sixteen hundred souls. This church had only three members to begin with, but now has ninety-four; standing the third in size among our churches in Oregon. The Rev. Dr. Atkinson was its minister for fifteen

* *MS. Letter of Rev. Geo. H. Atkinson, D.D., dated Portland, Oregon, April 16th, 1870.* Mr. Atkinson was one of the very earliest and most devoted and efficient Congregationalists in Oregon, and is still one of the most laborious and useful ministers in the State.

years, and received into it some eighty persons. He was the first missionary of the American Home Missionary Society to arrive in Oregon. He sailed for that Territory by way of the Sandwich islands—the most expeditious route—October, 1847, and arrived out June 20th, 1848, making the passage as quickly as possible, but consuming eight months in the process. He was followed, in November, 1849, by the Rev. Horace Lyman, another efficient Congregational minister.

The third church was organized by Messrs. Griffin and Clarke, about 1845, at Forest Grove, in Washington county, twenty-three miles west of Portland, now a town of four hundred inhabitants, and the seat of the Pacific University, which Congregationalists founded. This church has grown with the place, and had in 1878-79 a membership of sixty-five persons, being the fourth in point of numbers in the State.

These ministers were followed by other Congregational clergymen from time to time, until there were ten in the State in 1859-60, and as many Congregational churches, with about two hundred church members; and though the number of ministers and churches in 1869-70 was somewhat less than it was ten years previous—eight churches and seven ministers—yet the number of communicants had more than doubled, being four hundred and sixty-five in 1870. In 1878-79 there were but nine Congregational churches and twelve ministers; but there were seven hundred

and fifteen church members—a very handsome increase, considering all the circumstances of the case. Besides the twelve organized churches, there were at the same time seven out-stations where preaching was maintained with more or less regularity.

If, from this brief exhibit of Congregationalism in Oregon during thirty years and a little more, our progress there should be regarded as very slow and our position still far from strong, no one certainly could gainsay this. We are, indeed, compared with our position in other Western States, “but a feeble folk” in Oregon; yet must it be considered that, like the “conies,” we have had to make our houses in the rocks—that what has been done here has been done in spite of most serious obstacles. For, while the State stood the fifth in point of size among the thirty-seven States of the Union, its population was smaller in 1875 than that of any other except Nevada; and it had to a square mile fewer inhabitants than any other, with this one exception. In a population so sparse there can be, of necessity, but a moderate opportunity to gather churches of any kind; and, on reflection, it is rather to be noted that the Congregationalists have been able to do so much than that they have accomplished but little. Let the reader consider the peculiar history of Oregon, which has already been briefly noticed. For many years it was deemed hardly a habitable part of the earth, not having attracted, before

1843, more than four hundred Whites into the entire Territory. Portland, now the chief city of the State, with sixteen churches of different denominations, and a population of eight or nine thousand souls, in 1848 was only a little village, with a few straggling houses and shanties among the surrounding forest trees.

About 1848, when emigration had begun to set into Oregon with considerable activity — sixteen or eighteen thousand persons having crossed the mountains into the territory, and other thousands being prepared to follow — just then came the news of gold discoveries in California. This almost depopulated Oregon. The people forsook their settlements there, and hurried to the gold mines, to make their fortunes in a day. This he-gira interfered most disastrously with all religious work, and indeed brought to a stand, for the time being, the very settlement of Oregon. In process of time the fever abated, and the people returned to their old homes, satisfied that more money could in the end be made, and vastly more comfort obtained, by the ordinary industrial pursuits of life than by gold-digging. But just then the "Land Law" was promulgated, and this scattered the people again as with a whirlwind. This law was designed to draw settlers into the country; and to this end offered bounties of land to all actual settlers on claims, amounting in many instances to half a mile, and even an entire mile square, of territory. This was an irresistible temp-

tation to every able-bodied settler to forsake his old place of residence and locate on some more or less distant spot where he might secure his mile or less of land. The operation of this law almost destroyed some of the infant churches and villages of Oregon; for a promising settlement, with a growing church, would by its operation be suddenly deprived of one half or two thirds of its citizens and church members, who would scatter over the country from twenty to seventy miles around, in order to secure the rich land-grants which were offered to them. This, of course, was to the last degree discouraging to the missionaries, who were striving to build up permanent religious and educational institutions among the people. They could not follow these wanderers with their churches and schools, for these men were too far separated from each other on their half-mile lots to be gathered into villages or churches again — for years at least. Still, the missionaries kept steadily at work among these increasing thousands of immigrants, notwithstanding all their discouragements; and the Home Missionary Society continued to reinforce them as opportunities of usefulness opened and the claims of other more promising fields permitted. Houses of worship were built, revivals of religion were enjoyed, and moderate progress was made in planting and rearing the institutions of learning and religion in that country. The church in Portland built and dedicated a meeting-house — or rather the pastor,

Mr. Lyman, built it — in 1851; and in 1853 the church had twenty members. In 1858 it had doubled its membership.

What has now been said sufficiently accounts for the slow progress of Congregationalism in Oregon; though it must be admitted that the Methodists, who were first in this field, far outnumber us, as do the Baptists and Christians. Still, the denomination holds a respectable and influential position in the State.*

A few words more about the early educational efforts of the Congregationalists in Oregon, and we will leave the State.

In September, 1848, when there were not more than five ministers and three churches of this order in the Territory, "The Congregational Association of Oregon" was formed. The basis of this organization was a sound Calvinistic confession of faith, a brief constitution setting forth the object and end of the association, and a few by-laws to guide its deliberations. The minutes of this association plainly show that, in the judgment of its members, the cause of education was

* In 1870, according to the United States census returns, the Methodists had ninety-seven congregations; the Baptists, twenty-eight; the Christians, twenty-six; the Presbyterians, twenty; the Episcopalians, nine; and the Congregationalists, eight. But in 1875 the Congregationalists had nine organized churches, and seven out-stations where preaching was sustained with more or less regularity.

next in importance to the immediate religious interests of the churches. The following resolution, adopted in 1866, has the genuine ring in it, and is every way worthy of the men who began to build school-houses and lay college foundations in this wilderness as soon as they had houses in which to shelter their families, and bread with which to feed them:

"*Resolved*, That the idea and practice of our fathers, that education is the handmaid of religion, and that the school and college should go hand-in-hand with the church, should be a living, practical idea with us in Oregon, while laying foundations here." *

And this was no new idea of the Oregon Congregationalists; for, at the very first meeting of this association, the subject of education was not only before them, but trustees were actually elected for the Tualatin Academy, which was chartered the next year, and which ultimately grew into the Pacific University, with its various departments, and hundreds of scholars under the instruction of competent Christian teachers.† And that date even was not the earliest at which the subject was agitated by the Oregon ministers; for as early as July we find they were consider-

* *Minutes of the Congregational Association of Oregon, 1866*, p. 7.

† *MS Letter of Dr. Atkinson*. I have examined the *Minutes* from 1860 to 1873, only. Indeed, I am not sure that they were published before 1867.

ing the question. And all along the years to the present day, this association has continued its words and deeds of encouragement to the work of education, common and special.

Though this college is not denominational, yet the Congregationalists founded it, have assumed the responsibility of it, and are its chief supporters; the Presbyterians having generously aided in its endowment.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

What is now known as Washington Territory is the northern part of the old Oregon Territory as originally organized. It extends northward from the Columbia river some four hundred miles, to British Columbia; and from the Pacific Ocean eastward, three hundred and sixty miles towards the Rocky Mountains; having a strip of Idaho, from sixty to a hundred and twenty miles wide, between its eastern boundary and those mountains. It embraces an area of about seventy thousand square miles of land, and between nine and ten thousand square miles of water.

In physical characteristics, as in climate, soil and productions, and in its civil and ecclesiastical history, Washington Territory is nearly identical with Oregon. It has the same mountain ranges, though more lofty—some of them having an average elevation above the sea of from five to eight thousand feet, with peaks from two to six thousand feet above the general elevation; and by

these mountains the country is much broken up. But yet the Territory has thousands of square miles of prairies and plains, and abounds in rivers and lakes; and wherever the soil is well watered, it is highly productive. As, for example, in sections of the great plateaus of the Columbia and the Spokane rivers—a vast plain of twenty-five thousand square miles—there are large tracts of land which have yielded eighty-five bushels of wheat to the acre, the grain weighing sixty-two pounds to the bushel.*

Our claim to Washington Territory is the same as to the Territory below: the right of discovery—Captain Gray having discovered and explored, in 1791, the fine bay and harbor which bear his name, in latitude 47° north, some sixty miles above the mouth of the Columbia river; and Lewis and Clarke having explored the country in 1815; and American settlers having occupied the soil from about the year 1845—to say nothing of our missionary stations there six or eight years previous. And then, further, we have, by purchase, all the claim to this country which the French had derived from the Spaniards, who were the very earliest discoverers and visitors of this coast in 1592 and 1775.†

* *Johnson's Encyclopedia*; *Rand & McNally's Business Atlas of America*, the most complete and satisfactory work of the kind extant. According to this *Atlas*, Washington Territory has seventy-five rivers, twenty-seven islands and fifteen lakes. It has also some of the finest harbors and roadsteads in the world.

† See *Johnson's Encyclopedia*, art. Washington Territory.

The same causes which have retarded and embarrassed the settlement of Oregon proper have operated with increased force against the settlement of Washington Territory. The Hudson Bay Company did not yield their claim to it until 1841; and some of the islands in the Gulf of Georgia were not ceded to the United States until 1873 even.

The first permanent American settlers seem to have entered the Territory about 1845; but the inflow was very slow for twenty years and more. It was not organized as a Territory until 1853; and the Indian War which followed in 1855 did not attract settlers, of course, and at the close of it there could not have been more than five or six thousand Whites in the Territory; for in 1859 there were only about seven thousand inhabitants there; while the United States census of 1860 returned eleven thousand five hundred and ninety-four, and the census of 1870 more than double that number, making the population then nearly twenty-four thousand; which, according to Governor Ferry's estimate, in 1875 had increased to thirty-six thousand, aside from tribal Indians. All this seems slow work for a Western Territory, and yet it indicates progress.

In 1859-60, the Rev. Mr. Atkinson, the Congregational minister of Oregon City, made a tour of exploration into the region of Puget Sound, at the request of the committee of the American Home Missionary Society. He says:

"My tour of exploration around and through the western portion of Washington Territory has magnified my estimate of the value and importance of that portion of the national domain. I had thought it unworthy of the noble name it bears; but my conviction now is, that this rising State will be among the foremost in the Union, and worthy of him who was first in the hearts of his countrymen." *

Its two thousand miles of shore line, its fertile prairies and unrivalled forests, its resources of fish, gold, marble, lead and coal, it was thought must ultimately attract a large immigration. The settlers around Puget Sound were found to be largely Eastern people, and of a good quality. But there was not at that time a minister of either the Congregational or Presbyterian order in all the Territory; and the American Home Missionary Society seems not to have found sufficient encouragement to undertake a mission in the Territory for more than ten years after this first survey of the ground — the civil war intervening, which of course stopped the progress of settlements and improvements here as everywhere else. In 1870, however, a new impulse was given to emigration along the Pacific coast, by the junction at Ogden, Utah, May, 1869, of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific railroads, forming a through line from the shores of the Pacific to the

* *American Home Missionary Society Report for 1860*, pp 93-94.

banks of the Missouri, and by connecting roads at Omaha, Nebraska, bringing all the United States into easy communication with the Pacific States. This and attending circumstances renewed the interest felt by the Missionary Society in Washington Territory, and induced them to seek, by a personal survey of the country, such trustworthy information as might lead to an early occupation of a few of the more hopeful points in the Territory.*

The first direct movement towards establishing Congregationalism in the Territory — if we except the occasional visits of the Oregon ministers — was made by the Rev. John F. Damon, a missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, who, on the 16th of January, 1870, organized a small Congregational church at Seattle, then a small but growing village between Admiralty Inlet and Dwamish Lake, on the line of the Northern Pacific railroad; now a prosperous and populous place. The church when organized had just the orthodox number of seven persons; subsequently seven more were added, and a congregation of about one hundred gathered; and soon a meeting-house was built, and the enterprise prospered. But, unfortunately, a debt was contracted in building the meeting-house, the pastor's health failed and he resigned his charge, and a cloud seemed to hang over the little body of believers.

* *Report for 1870, p. 22.*

Nevertheless, they persevered in maintaining the institutions of religion among them, and the church has lived and grown to this day, when it numbers fifty-five communicants—more than double that of any other church of our order in the Territory.

There was not another Congregational church organized in this Territory until 1873, when three new churches appear on our list: Atahnum (or Attanam), in the south central part of the Territory, on the Yakima or Attanam river; Olympia, the capital of the Territory, near the southern projection of Puget Sound, now one of the most enterprising and prosperous towns in Washington Territory; and Sehome, a small village in the extreme northwestern part of the Territory, on Bellingham Bay. This church has now a membership of twenty-three persons, and stands third in point of numbers in the Territory.

In 1874 two more churches were added to our list, which have proved successful and prosperous, judging from their present comparative numbers. One of these churches was instituted at New Tacoma, a small village in the centre of the Territory, just at the southeastern extremity of Admiralty Inlet, on or near the river Dwamish. The other church was organized at Skokomish, a little to the northwest of Tacoma, on the opposite side of Puget Sound, at the mouth of the Skokomish river, where it enters the Sound.

In 1875 no additions were made to our churches

in Washington Territory; and in 1876 but one was made: that at Semiahmoo, on Boundary Bay, at the extreme northwestern part of the country. It seems to have been a judicious step to establish a Congregational church on the northern boundary line, for it ranks now second in point of numbers in the Territory.

Since 1876 there has been a very evident quickening of interest in Congregationalism all over Washington Territory, four new churches of this order having been formed in 1877: at Colfax and Dayton, in the southeastern corner of the Territory, near Idaho and Oregon; at Fidalgo, at the opposite extreme of the country, on Bellingham Bay; and at White River, near Tacoma, in the very geographical centre of the Territory.

These constitute the whole number of Congregational churches in Washington Territory up to June 20th, 1878: eleven, with a membership of two hundred and twenty-one — fifty-seven of whom had been added in the course of the year preceding. The whole number of ministers in the Territory was, at the same time, seven.

Washington Territory has no General Association of its own; but is organized with Oregon, on which it depends largely for denominational sympathy and help.*

[* The Congregational Association of Washington Territory was organized June 26-29th, 1879, consisting of seven churches and seven ministers in the central and northwestern parts of the Territory, the remaining churches being still connected with Oregon. — G. B. J.]

Educational matters have not yet received much attention. There is but one Protestant college and one Catholic college in the Territory: the Territorial University at Seattle, founded in 1872, and having, in 1874, three professors and about fifty students, with an endowment of \$15,000; and the Holy Angels' College, at Vancouver City, organized in 1865, and having, in 1874, three professors and fifty six students.

The whole receipts for common school purposes, in 1874, did not amount to quite forty thousand dollars; and consequently the amount of schooling is moderate, averaging less than six months in a year. The best schools are at Olympia and Seattle, which are graded and of a high order.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NEW WEST — COLORADO — DAKOTA — OTHER WESTERN TERRITORIES.

FROM the Old West — the Great West — we will now turn to the New West, a country unknown to the civilized world until within a few years.

Beginning on the banks of the Ohio river, in 1788, we have followed the descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans in their migrations into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and thence across the great plains and the Rocky Mountains, to California, Oregon and Washington Territory — the *ultima thule* of the United States — which was reached as early as 1850 — a distance of two thousand miles in a straight line from Marietta, Ohio, the first settlement on the Ohio river. It lacks eight years of a century, and yet this vast Western country has everywhere been visited and colonized by New England people, who have planted their civil, educational and religious institutions in every State and Territory named, now occupied by more than ten millions of inhabitants.

But while this work has been in progress in the Old West, a New West has been gradually open-

ing to our wondering eyes — a vast region around and among the very crests of the Rocky Mountains, where it was supposed that only wild beasts and wild men could live, but which is now found to be not only habitable, but really one of the most wonderful and beautiful sections of our vast country, containing untold and indescribable mineral wealth, unlimited pasture lands of the richest quality, and land susceptible of the highest culture where water can be had. And this rich and beautiful country is no pent-up territory among the mountains, either, but in extent is equal to one quarter, if not one third, of the total area of the United States. Colorado and Nevada, Wyoming, Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico are all in this New West, and contain an aggregate of nearly ten hundred thousand square miles; enough to make two hundred States of fifty thousand square miles each, or more than a thousand States of the size of Massachusetts. But then, it must be borne in mind that this vast region of beauty and wealth is, after all, the "hill country" of North America. It is the great table on which stand the Rocky Mountains — whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened — stones with fair colors, and foundations with sapphires, and all whose borders are pleasant stones. Such are the mountain States of the New West, of which we propose now to make a brief survey.

To give a more definite idea of this New West,

it may be said that, starting from the Mississippi river, one must travel from five to seven hundred miles westward, across two tiers of States, before he can touch even the eastern boundary line of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming or Montana, through which runs the very spine of the Rocky Mountains proper, rising from twelve to fourteen thousand feet in general elevation. From this ridge, one must travel a hundred or two miles still further west to reach the eastern boundaries of Arizona and Utah; and yet further west to reach Nevada, and north to find Idaho carefully packed in among the great mountain ranges as they pass off in a northwesterly direction into British Columbia.

Thus it appears that what is called the New West — excepting Dakota — is emphatically hill country and "Rocky Mountain States," as they are situate almost entirely between the eastern slope of those mountains towards the Mississippi and the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada Mountains on the Pacific coast; embracing within their boundaries the great mass of the Rocky Mountains themselves, and spurs of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and many smaller ranges of mountains besides. Of this section of country generally, one who resides in it and has made it a special study says: "Aside from Idaho" — and he would have excepted also most of Dakota, had he included that in his survey — "the New West is not unlike California in its general characteris-

ties. One of the prime industries, when it is fully developed, will be grazing. In the northern portion of this region it is necessary to make some provision for winter; but beef-cattle and sheep graze all the year round in southern Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona. The pasture grounds of Colorado and New Mexico comprise seventy million acres," covered with the gamagrass, which is so nutritious that the stock and dairy men of the Mississippi valley and of the great plains are now moving into the New West, where the estimated profit in stock-raising is fifty per cent. on the investment. Here, it is thought, will ultimately be the great herding-grounds of our continent; and the value of such grounds appears in the fact that even now the hay crop and pasturage—including dairy products, wool, and the increase of live stock—of the United States exceeds in value all the cotton, corn, wheat and other farm products of the country; being equal to nine hundred and seventy-three million dollars in 1878.*

There are many millions of acres of good farming land in all these new Western Territories; yet, as a whole, the ground requires irrigation to make it very productive, for large sections are rainless regions. But the all-surrounding mountains furnish abundant streams convenient for

* *The New West.* By Rev. E. P. Tenney, President of Colorado College, pp. 4-6.

irrigation, and, when the wants of the inhabitants will justify it, irrigation will be extensively and systematically introduced, turning barrenness into fruitful land; but at present grazing and mining are the great industries of the New West generally.

From Montana alone, the most northern of these Territories, more than one hundred and fifty millions of gold and silver have already been gathered, and nearly seven millions was the yield in 1878. The annual yield of gold from Colorado is not far from eight millions.* In Idaho there are gold and silver mines at the sources of all the rivers, and in every county in the Territory. Utah, besides having the richest iron ore of all qualities in the United States, together with copper, zinc and coal, has gold and silver in great abundance; and though the policy of the Mormons has been adverse to opening mines of the precious metals, yet in 1874 the amount of bullion produced was worth about five million dollars. New Mexico is also very rich in the precious metals. But Arizona, in the southwestern corner of the New West, probably surpasses every other portion of the Union in the variety and abundance of mineral treasures: gold, silver and precious stones, quicksilver, tin, nickel and cinnabar, copper, lead, platinum, and the finest of iron ores and bituminous coal. Nevada

* *The New West*, p. 9.

has gold, silver, copper, iron, antimony, arsenic, plumbago, borax, kaolin, magnesia and various precious stones. Wyoming, as projected on a good map, seems well-nigh covered with mountains. Here we find the famous Black Hills, which spread over the entire eastern quarter of the Territory, and into southwestern Dakota, with peaks as high as eight thousand feet above the level of the sea; and here are the Big Horn Mountains and the Snow Mountains, which embrace within their limits the "northern wonderland" of the world. It is here that Congress has set apart for health and pleasure a grand National Park, containing between three and four thousand square miles.* But when it is noticed how these mountains are cut through in every direction by rivers which open valleys and cañons wherever they go, and when the wonderful parks among the mountains are noticed, it is seen at once that there must be in Wyoming large

* This park has a general average elevation of about six thousand feet, or nearly the height of Mount Washington, in New Hampshire; while the mountain ranges around it rise to nine and ten thousand feet, and many single peaks much higher. In this park are found the head-waters of two of the largest rivers on this continent—the Yellowstone and the Missouri, flowing in opposite directions; and also branches of the Columbia river. Here, too, are lakes and hot springs and geysers in rich abundance. Here the heats of summer are unknown, even in July and August the thermometer seldom rising above 70°, with a sweet, dry atmosphere truly refreshing—See a description of this park in *Johnson's Encyclopedia*, art. Yellowstone National Park.

reaches of arable and grazing lands. It is estimated that Arizona has five million acres of arable and thirty-five million acres of good grazing land, and it is found that irrigation makes even these desert alkaline plains abundantly productive.

What has now been said will prepare the reader to believe that a large population must ultimately, and at no distant day, fill these Rocky Mountain Territories; and also to credit the statement that "the population of the New West is probably at this time not far from seven hundred thousand." *

Among these hundreds of thousands, it would be strange indeed if men of New England origin and Congregational proclivities were not already to be found in considerable numbers. And by the census returns of 1870 it appears that the native White population of Arizona, Colorado, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming was, in round numbers, two hundred and twenty-two thousand, and that, of these, no less than six thousand seven hundred were born in New England; while more than twice that number were born in Western States which were originally settled largely by Eastern men. Of the New England-born settlers, Colorado claimed the largest number, nearly eighteen hundred — 1783; Utah, strange as it may seem, stood next,

* *The New West*, p. 16.

having nearly fifteen hundred New England men; and Montana next, with ten hundred and seventy-five. Dakota, Idaho and Wyoming had each from five hundred to six hundred and seventy-five New Englanders. Arizona stood lowest, having less than three hundred Yankees within her boundaries. Now, it is to these men of New England birth or origin that we are to look for all the Congregational history to be found in the New West.

COLORADO.

But to enter somewhat more into particulars.

The first notice of any religious movement of Congregationalists towards these new Territories is found in the *Report of the American Home Missionary Society for 1863*. There we read that the attention of the executive committee of the society had been directed, during the previous year, to the condition and claims of Colorado, which was territorially organized in 1861, and was supposed to have, in 1863, more than thirty thousand inhabitants; and the committee felt that its religious culture ought not to be overlooked or postponed. Appeals having been made in behalf of several important towns, containing each from one to four thousand souls, where even then were materials for Congregational churches, which with proper nurture would in a year or two support the ordinances of religion without missionary aid, the committee were disposed to respond promptly,

and sent directly two or three missionaries to Colorado. The first of these was the Rev. William Crawford, who was appointed missionary to Central City, Colorado Territory, in April, 1863. Early in the summer he reached his field of labor, where he was heartily welcomed, and where he was able to begin at once an encouraging work; a Congregational church of twenty-one members being organized on the 23d of August, 1863, and three persons subsequently joining it by profession of their faith. Missionary work was also begun, with encouraging prospects, at several other points in the neighborhood of Central City. This city is among the gold mountains, some forty miles northwest of Denver, and in population is the third city in the State; Denver having fifteen thousand inhabitants, Pueblo six thousand, and Central City twenty-three hundred.

In 1870 a Congregational church of twenty-nine members was organized at the famous temperance village of Greeley, about fifty miles north of Denver, near the junction of Cache la Poudre Creek with the Platte river, and in the very centre of trade in northern Colorado. In all deeds of land in Greeley, there was a forfeiture clause in case liquor was sold or given away upon the premises. One fence, fifty miles long, enclosed the town, with fifty thousand acres of farming land. The town was founded in 1870, and in 1878 had four churches, two banks, three hotels, two newspapers, twenty stores, a school building

which cost thirty thousand dollars, and a population of about five hundred souls.* The Congregational church in Greeley more than doubled its membership in the course of five years, but has rather lost than gained since that time; its members in 1878-79 being set down at fifty-one. This doubtless is to be attributed to the changeable character of a mining population, ever moving to newer and yet newer placers. This little church reported, in 1878, that one quarter part of its members were then absentees. And so it is in most of the churches in the mining districts.†

In 1872 a Congregational church of about

* N. C. Meeker, editor of *The Greeley Tribune*, in *Johansen's Encyclopedia*; *Rand & McNally's Business Atlas*; *Towney's New West*. The information about the Western States and Territories, and the towns and villages which are so rapidly springing up there, to be found in these three works, is fresher and fuller than has been found anywhere else.

† The Rev. L. P. Norcross, missionary in Deadwood, gives several impressive illustrations of the changing character of the mining towns. On a trip through the Black Hills, in the summer of 1878, he visited Hayward, on Battle Creek, "in a low, fertile, and beautiful little park with hills about it," and found it nearly deserted. In seventy-five or eighty houses he found about thirty inhabitants. The town of Harney, four miles further up the creek, Sheridan Hill City, Castleton and Sitting Bull—all these he found dying or dead, having too few people to gather for religious service. At Custer City—just at the southern entrance to the Hills, once the leading town of the region, beautifully situated, and having something like a thousand houses—the missionary found not over fifty people, all told, of whom a fourth part were women.—*Home Missionary*, September, 1878, pp. 113-14.

twenty members was formed at Longmont, forty miles north of Denver; an enterprising and prosperous village, handsomely laid out in 1871, and now among the most populous towns in the State. The church seems to have grown with the town, and at last accounts had nearly or quite doubled its original membership.

In 1874 two more Congregational churches were instituted in Colorado: a small one of twelve members at Platteville, a village on the Denver and Rio Grande railroad, about fifteen miles southwest of Greeley; and the other at Colorado Springs, on the same railroad, seventy-five miles south of Denver. The Platteville church has made little progress; but the church at Colorado Springs has quite a different history. It began with twenty-five members, and has steadily increased until it is able now to report at least one hundred and twenty members, and is entirely self-supporting.* The settlement of Colorado

* The *Congregationalist* newspaper of August 27th, 1879, reported that the church at Colorado Springs, Rev. R. T. Cross, pastor, used the main audience room of its new meeting-house for the first time, July 20th; on which occasion the house was filled, and twenty-three new members were received to the church. It reported, January 1st, 1878, ninety-nine members; it cannot, therefore, have at this time less than one hundred and twenty-two, and probably its communicants considerably exceed this number.

In November, 1877, the general missionary for Colorado reported to the American Home Missionary Society that Colorado Springs was one of the most beautiful cities, prospectively, in the world; situated just at the base of Pike's Peak, whose snow-clad

Springs is the work of a company of educated Eastern men, of liberal, Christian views, who have done everything in their power to make this charming spot, with its fine climate and remarkable mineral springs, not only a favorite summer resort, but a most desirable place of permanent residence. Among other things, they have given fifty acres of their best lands towards the endowment of a Christian college, holding forty acres more as a conditional gift when a certain endowment is secured; and the towns-people, with some outside help, have put up one of the most comely and convenient stone college buildings to be found in the country. Some of the most careful and enterprising business men in the State are among the trustees of this college, in which the grade of studies is said to equal that of the best Eastern colleges.* It has already secured teachers of acknowledged ability, and young men and women from all the region round about are entering its several departments; for, like other Western colleges of modern date, this

top is fourteen thousand five hundred feet above the sea. In close proximity are the sulphur, soda and iron springs of Manitou, that bid fair, by their medicinal virtues, yet to rival Saratoga. In less than six years from the driving of the first stake in that city, it had a population of over three thousand five hundred souls. Its streets are smooth, solid, straight as an arrow, with little water-courses on either side, and the whole town adorned with shade trees of many varieties.—Rev Stewart Sheldon, in *Home Missionary* for November, 1877, pp. 167-68.

* President Tenney, in *The New West*, p. 72.

institution provides for both males and females, and furnishes instruction to those who wish to enter on the college course, and to those who propose to be teachers of common schools, as well as to those who would secure simply a good common education. This institution, though not sectarian, and aiming simply to be thoroughly Christian, owes its existence and present hopeful prospects largely to the enterprise of Congregationalists, who here, as everywhere, have made education the handmaid of their religion; always recognizing the inseparable connection between the intelligence of the people and the highest prosperity of a Congregational church.

This Colorado College is not only the centre of educational efforts for its own State, but it has taken under its fostering care Salt Lake Academy in Utah, and the Santa Fé Academy in New Mexico; institutions which have been founded by the same class of men who have begun the work in Colorado, and for the same specific purpose — of affording the best possible instruction in useful knowledge, on the easiest possible terms, to all classes in society, and that, too, while under decidedly religious influence. To facilitate Christian educational work in Salt Lake and Santa Fé Academies, professors have been elected by Colorado College and assigned to service as principals of those academies, while the institutions themselves have been classified as preparatory schools of the college, though Santa Fé Academy is some

two hundred and twenty-five miles south, and Salt Lake Academy nearly four hundred miles northwest, of Colorado Springs.

July 15th, 1877, a Congregational church of five members was gathered at Leadville, by the Rev. Stewart Sheldon. It seems to have embraced all the Christian men and women who could be gathered from Malta and Oro City and Leadville Camp, which are all in the same immediate neighborhood. But the failure of the pastor's health and other difficulties prevented the growth of this church, and a Methodist church took its place. Recently, however, the church has been revived under very encouraging circumstances.

The town or city of Leadville is in the valley of the upper Arkansas river, among the Sierra Madre Mountains, in the northwestern part of the State, ten thousand feet or more above the level of the sea, and half as many thousand feet higher than Denver.

This is a mining settlement, which has sprung into existence as by magic, in a year's time. Its origin is too recent for the town to have found a place in the latest gazetteers or on the most recent atlases. But the ubiquitous newspaper correspondents—a class of men to whom the world is indebted for much of the passing history of this country—and the editor of a tourist's guide-book have given graphic and interesting accounts of Leadville, and the "silver craze"

to which it owes its existence.* From these accounts it would seem that this silver excitement has exceeded anything of the kind ever witnessed in this land of excitements. The California gold fever of 1849, the Pike's Peak delirium of 1859, the Black Hills stampede of more recent date, bear no comparison with the "Leadville silver craze" of 1876-77, which has given birth and growth to a city among the mountains, so extraordinary as almost to stagger the belief even of persons familiar with Western life and growth.

In January, 1878, the camp at Leadville consisted of twenty or twenty-five log cabins. In four months from that date the buildings in Leadville had increased to four hundred; and at the present time (August, 1879) there are probably eighteen hundred buildings of all kinds, and twenty thousand people, in Leadville.

The explanation of all this is found in the fact that in the immediate neighborhood of Leadville there were, in the winter of 1878-79, about forty paying mines; and a prospect that the number would be doubled in the course of a few months.

* *New York Times*, February 16th, 1879. The correspondence bears date of February 8th. *Leadville, Ten Mile and all other noted Colorado Mining Camps*. By Stephen F. Smart, editor of *Colorado Tourist*, etc., etc., Kansas City, Missouri, 1879; 8vo pamphlet, with maps, 50 pages. The *New York Tribune*, Extra, No. 49, published July 18th, 1879, contains twelve pages, forty six columns, of extremely interesting and valuable correspondence from E. V. Smalley and Z. L. White, regarding Texas, Colorado and the Black Hills.

One of these mines is said to have produced three million dollars' worth of the precious metal since it was opened; and it was producing fifty thousand dollars' worth day by day. The average yield of silver to a ton of ore in thirty of these mines varies from fifteen to three hundred and seventy-five ounces, with only one so low as fifteen.*

It was indeed a bold undertaking to gather a Christian church at Leadville, in the very centre of two hundred silver mines, filled with men making all possible haste to be rich. And what may be the future of this brave little church which has dared to rear its altar even where Mammon's seat is — "Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell from heaven" — it is yet too early to predict. But from the character of the missionary in charge of this church — Rev. J. W. Pickett — and from the fact that they are even now engaged in building a new meeting-house we may augur good.† It is to be a spacious

* Mr. Smart gives the names of two hundred and twenty mines in Leadville district, many of which have been bought and sold at prices varying from ten or twenty thousand dollars to fifty, one hundred, two hundred, two hundred and fifty, three hundred, five hundred, and six hundred thousand dollars; while some are valued at millions. — *Leadville and Ten Mile*, chap. IV. Published in the summer of 1879.

† *The Leadville (Col.) Chronicle* of August 9th, 1879: "Ground will be broken for his new church in a few days, and its early completion may be expected." [Mr. Pickett died instantly by the overturning of a stage-coach near Leadville, Colorado, November 14th, 1879, aged forty-seven years. — G. B. — J.]

House, with a prayer-meeting room, as well as audience room. A goodly number of persons were expecting to connect themselves with the enterprise at once, and it was anticipated that the house would be filled as soon as opened.*

Sometime in the autumn or winter of 1878, a Congregational church was planted at Silverton, the capital of La Plata county, in the southwest part of the State, in the very heart of the silver-bearing mountains of that section. The Rev. Harlan P. Roberts received an appointment to this post July 18th, 1878.† But no report of the present condition of this church is at hand; indeed, it had not found a place in our list of Congregational churches at the time of issuing the *Year-Book* for 1879.

Only one other Congregational church is known to exist in Colorado, and that is at South Pueblo. This was formed in 1878, with seventeen members. The Rev. Thomas McClelland received his appointment to this place July 1st, 1878. Of the subsequent history of this church nothing is known; but from its position and the character of the pioneers in this work, there is every reason to anticipate for it a prosperous and honorable career. The county of which Pueblo is the capital is a rich and beautiful section of southern

* Correspondence of the Rev. Charles R. Bliss, Leadville, Colorado, August 12th, 1879, in *The Congregationalist*, September 8d, 1879.

† Report of American Home Missionary Society, 1879, p. 39.

Colorado, and the town is a prosperous and growing place, being considered the metropolis of the entire region, situate on the Arkansas river, at the junction of the Denver and Rio Grande and the Atchison and Topeka railroads, in the midst of a fine agricultural and stock-raising country."

"The Colorado Conference of Congregational Churches" was organized in March, 1868, of five churches: those at Central City, Boulder (1864), Denver (1864), Empire (1866), and Georgetown (1868); and at the same time the Rocky Mountain Ministerial Association was constituted, with the Rev. Messrs. William H. Phipps, Nathan Thompson and Norman McLeod as members.

So much may be said of Congregationalism in Colorado. It began almost with the beginning of the civilized history of the Territory, in 1863, with one church at Central City, of twenty-four members, called "The First Congregational Church of Colorado," and has slowly grown to nine churches, in 1878-79, with a total of four hundred and ten members and thirteen ministers.

* The Rev. Stewart Sheldon, general missionary of the American Home Missionary Society for Colorado, visited Pueblo sometime previous to November, 1877, and thus wrote concerning the Christian people there: "At Pueblo a little company was found, with the motto, 'A church without a bishop, and a State without a king.' And notwithstanding general business embarrassments, a movement was attempted for the early joint planting of church and school." — *Home Missionary* for November, 1877, p. 168.

DAKOTA.

Dakota, the largest organized Territory in the United States, except Alaska, is one of the most interesting ones — to Congregationalists at least — in all the New West. It is the most northern portion of the old Louisiana Territory; and when first organized, in 1861, was three times as large as at present, including then what is now Montana, Idaho and Wyoming. But its present length is four hundred and fourteen miles from north to south, its width three hundred and sixty miles, or an area of nearly one hundred and fifty-one thousand square miles! or more than ninety-six and a half millions of acres of land. The Black Hills project into the southwest corner of this Territory, and that region abounds in minerals — gold, silver, copper, iron, etc.; but, as a whole, Dakota must be classed with the great agricultural and fruit-raising Territories of the West; its climate and soil being favorable for all the cereals except Indian corn, and all the vegetables and fruits of the Northern States. It has, in fact, within its bounds some of the finest wheat lands in North America, if not in the world. Though the yearly rain-fall is not great — about twenty inches — the Territory is well supplied with rivers and lakes; more than three-score of the former and half a hundred of the latter being named on the best atlases. The Missouri river traverses the entire Territory, from north-

west to southeast, and the Red River of the North is its eastern boundary for about two hundred and fifty miles. It is in the basin of this river, on either side, that millions of acres of the finest wheat lands are found; lands which are said to yield from four-and-twenty to thirty and even fifty bushels of wheat to the acre, and of the heaviest and finest quality too, while their yield of other cereals is proportionally large.

This rich land has long been shut out from civilized uses, first, by the cupidity of the fur traders of the northwest, who wished to keep out permanent settlers from a country particularly valuable to hunters and trappers; and afterwards by its remoteness from markets and its inaccessibility. But the recent opening of the Northern Pacific Railroad, from Duluth, at the western extremity of Lake Superior, across the whole width of Minnesota, and over the Red River of the North, to Bismarck, in the centre of Dakota, on the Missouri river, has brought this fine country into direct and easy communication with the seaboard East and South, and has suddenly changed the whole face of things along the Red river. And now, for some two years — or since the autumn of 1877 — new settlers have been literally rushing into this choice prairie land all along the river, both in Dakota and Minnesota, with a rapidity never before witnessed even in that Western world, where men have been accustomed to see towns and cities and counties settled

and filled with inhabitants with railroad speed. For two years the land offices of Minnesota and Dakota have been crowded with applicants for this wheat land; and the railroads leading into that region have been taxed to their utmost capacity to carry the hurrying thousands to this fertile region of the New West. It will give the reader some idea of the rush of settlers to know that, within a single year, 1877-78, the estimated number of settlers in the Red river country, on either side of the river and across the line towards Winnepeg, was sixty-five thousand souls; and what is particularly interesting and encouraging is, that an unusual proportion of these immigrants are substantial farmers and working people, who believe farming to be more profitable than mining — that the king himself is served of the field. The fruit of these laborers in the wheat fields of Dakota appears by comparing the crop reports of different years. Thus, in 1860 the wheat crop of this Territory was less than one thousand bushels; and in ten years it had risen only to about one hundred and seventy thousand six hundred bushels — less by twenty-three thousand bushels than the little State of New Hampshire raised. But in 1879 Dakota takes her place among the great wheat-raising States of the Union.* She reports her wheat crop for the year

* *United States Census Compendium*, pp. 694-95; *Chicago Commercial Bulletin*, August, 1879.

at eleven million four hundred thousand bushels! or about three million bushels more than it was in 1878.

Dakota and Minnesota are companion States — complements of each other, so far at least as the eastern part of one and the western part of the other are concerned. The climate of Dakota is perhaps more mild and dry, because it is more remote from the great inland seas which Minnesota touches; but in all the region of the Red River of the North, which is their boundary line for nearly two hundred and fifty miles, the State and the Territory are identical in climate, soil and productiveness; and the interests of the two are also almost if not altogether identical.

The first permanent White inhabitant of this Territory came in 1859. A Territorial organization was effected in 1861. But there was very little immigration until 1866; for the Indian wars and massacres under Little Crow's command, in 1862 and 1863, and the war of the Confederate States, 1861-65, discouraged all emigration and every other great enterprise. In 1860 the White inhabitants of Dakota amounted, in round numbers, to two thousand five hundred. In 1870 these had increased to twelve thousand eight hundred.

The first sermon preached to the White inhabitants of Dakota was by a Presbyterian layman named Martin; and the first religious society organized in Yankton was by a Protestant Epis-

copal minister, the Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) Hoyt, a gentleman who has spent his life in frontier religious work. Beginning in Michigan, he has worked his way through to Wisconsin, to Iowa and into Dakota, which it touches on the north-west corner — keeping always on the frontier line of settlements; and now, having established an Episcopal society at Yankton, he has pushed forward some thirty miles into the prairie, to start another society, his motto seeming to be: "So have I strived to preach the gospel not where Christ was named, lest I should build on another man's foundation." *

The first Congregational minister who entered Dakota was the Rev. Elisha W. Cook, who was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society, March 25th, 1868, as a missionary for Yankton, the capital of the Territory, situate on the Missouri river, about thirty miles east of its junction with the Niobrara. Mr. Cook lost no time in entering his field of labor. A Congregational

* *MS Letter from Rev. Joseph Ward, the first pastor of the Congregational church in Yankton, Dakota Territory, dated August 27th, 1879. Mr. Ward, who seems to entertain a very kindly regard for Dr. Hoyt, says, very pleasantly: "I cannot help thinking that much of this aggressiveness is owing to the fact that he was brought up and educated a Congregationalist."*

But, after all, Episcopacy does not flourish in Dakota. Not a single society in the Territory was self supporting, with the possible exception of that in Yankton. Many of the parishes had not more than five communicants, and some not even that number.

church of eleven members was gathered at Yankton, April 8th, 1868; and live members they were, too, if we may judge from their works; for in less than three years they had increased more than threefold, and had raised over four thousand dollars with which to build a meeting-house.

But Mr. Cook was a genuine evangelist, remaining in Yankton only long enough to "set in order the things that were wanting," and prepare the way for the ordination of a pastor. He then pushed forward, like a true religious frontiersman, along the line of the Pacific railroad, preaching and organizing churches wherever he found opportunity. He was succeeded at Yankton, in March, 1869, by the Rev. Joseph Ward, of Rhode Island, a graduate of Brown University in 1865, and of Andover Theological Seminary in 1868; who still remains the pastor of this church, which he has seen grow with the town, until now (1879) it numbers one hundred and thirty-eight communicants — four times as many as any other church in the Territory.*

This church from the first cheerfully contrib-

* Yankton in 1876-77 was credited with seven hundred and thirty-seven inhabitants; in 1878-79 it reported three thousand inhabitants — five hundred more than any other town in the Territory had at the same date; Bismarck standing next, two thousand five hundred; both, however, outnumbered by the new but sadly-named town of Deadwood, on the eastern entrance to the Black Hills, which in 1878-79 reported four thousand inhabitants.

uted to home and foreign missions, and coöperated with their pastor in efforts to plant churches in the regions about and beyond them. They also began at once educational efforts; and before May, 1870, Mr. Ward could write to the executive committee of the American Home Missionary Society: "By next October we expect to have a good school building and two or more teachers. This school will soon grow into an academy, and then comes the college."* In less than four years' time the church at Yankton passed from the position of a beneficiary of the American Home Missionary Society to that of one of its supporters.

In August, 1870, the Rev. Stewart Sheldon was commissioned to occupy several stations which Mr. Ward had begun to develop; and so efficient and enterprising were these two pioneer laborers, that in less than a year they could report five new Congregational churches besides Yankton as the fruit of their labors; and these churches were all within the radius of about sixty miles around Yankton, and nearly or quite all at important points.†

In 1870 a Congregational church was gathered

* *Report of the American Home Missionary Society*, 44th, 1870, p. 80.

† It deserves notice, that our missionaries in the Western Territories were generally very careful to plant churches first of all in the business centres and the more important and prominent points of settlement in the several Territories.

at Bon Homme, a thriving town on the Missouri, about sixteen miles west of Yankton, on the border of Nebraska. Another was organized at the flourishing and beautiful village of Vermillion, on the Missouri, some five-and-twenty miles below Yankton; an important shipping port, and the capital of Clay county, having in 1879 a population of eight hundred souls. Another was formed in 1870, at Richland, some forty miles east of Yankton, on the Sioux river, about twenty miles above its junction with the Missouri. A fourth was gathered at Elk Point, among the rich prairies and river bottoms of Union county, of which it is the capital.

None of these churches were large, nor have they grown apace since their first organization; but they are all living churches, and in 1878 had an aggregate membership of eighty-five souls. Still another Congregational church dates from 1870, according to the report of the Dakota General Association, though assigned to 1873 by the *Congregational Quarterly* and the *Year-Book* — that at Canton, the capital of Lincoln county, on the Sioux river, fifteen or eighteen miles below the Falls, in a good farming region — “one of the future gardens of the Territory” — with good water-power; a prosperous place, with a population of about five hundred souls. In 1876 *

* The dates given in the text are from the *Minutes of the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Dakota*, pub-

this church had twenty-six members; in 1879 it had thirty-five and a house of worship, and was out of debt.

The only church of our order formed in this Territory in 1871 was at Sioux Falls—"the Niagara of the Territory and the future Lowell of the West"—some sixty miles in a northeast direction from Yankton, on the Sioux river, just where it falls one hundred and ten feet in the course of half a mile, furnishing an inexhaustible water-power. The city is the capital of Minnehaha County, and has a population of two thousand souls, outnumbered only by Yankton and Bismarck.

In 1872 two more missionaries were added to the ministerial force of Dakota; and before the year closed, three new churches were added to the Congregational sisterhood: one at Springfield, on the Missouri, some five-and-twenty miles nearly west of Yankton, a thriving village of about five hundred inhabitants, situate in an agricultural and stock-raising region; another at

listed in 1876, and differ, several of them, from the dates in the *Year-Book* for 1879. For a summary account of the Canton church, and others of the Congregational order in Dakota, see Rev. Stewart Sheldon's communication in the March number of the *Home Missionary*, 1879, pp. 259-400.

Mr. Sheldon speaks of one church which is not on our list—probably organized since November, 1878—namely that at Valley Springs, some fifteen miles north of east from Sioux Falls, on the line of the St. Paul and Sioux City railroad, just on the border of Minnesota.

Erie, which has been dropped from our list; and a third, at Fort Sully, some two hundred and sixty miles up the Missouri, and fifteen or eighteen miles below the mouth of the Big Cheyenne. The year 1873 added Dell Rapids and Green Island churches to the Dakota list; though Green Island is really in Nebraska, just across the Missouri from Yankton. In 1874, not a church of our order was formed in Dakota, unless the one at Rockport was an exception.* Rockport is some sixty miles north of Yankton, on the Dakota river, and is the capital of Hanson county.

In 1875 three churches were gathered: at Medary, near the eastern border of the Territory, on the Big Sioux, near the mouth of the Medary river; at Swan Lake, twenty-five or thirty miles northeast of Yankton, on a branch of the Vermillion, the capital of the fertile prairie county of Turner; and at Rockport, or Lincoln Centre.† In 1876 the churches at Deadwood, in the Black Hills, the headquarters of the first mission in that region; at Galena, and — the *Dakota Minutes* say — Lincoln Centre were organized. In 1877 the church at Grove Hill was formed, and in 1878 three more churches — one at Central City, one at Lead City, and one at Spearfish — were organ-

* The *Congregational Year-Book* for 1879 assigns Rockport to the year 1874, but the *Dakota Minutes* say 1875.

† Compare *Dakota Minutes* and the *Year-Book*.

ized and added to the Dakota Congregational sisterhood; making in all, up to November 1st, 1878, twenty Congregational churches, containing four hundred and eighteen members, with nine ministers to look after them, as the fruit of ten years' missionary work in the Territory. These are all connected either with the Dakota Congregational General Association or with the Colorado Association, for convenience' sake. Five of these churches are among the Black Hills. Among these is the church at Deadwood, the most populous town in the Territory; and that at Lead City, another of the important mining settlements in the Black Hills country. Galena, Central City and Spearfish are all in the same neighborhood, and together constitute the Black Hills Association.

The General Association of Dakota was formed at Yankton, pursuant to letters-missive from the Congregational church of that place, on the 21st of June, 1871, by the ministers and delegates from four churches, and the Rev. A. L. Riggs, superintendent of the missions of the American Board at Santee agency. The object and the character of this Association are briefly declared in the first and second articles of their constitution: "Believing in the fellowship of the saints, we hereby unite for mutual encouragement, and more spiritual and thorough work in the field the Lord has given us;" and "as the basis of our fellowship, we adopt the commonly received

principles of Congregational faith and practice." Subsequently a Confession of Faith was adopted, together with a more extended constitution and by-laws. The Confession is very brief—nine short articles, only two of them more than two lines long, and neither of these over four lines long. It may be denominated evangelical, and very moderately, but not at all distinctively, Calvinistic.

This Association has proved itself an energetic and efficient body, and it is largely owing to its earnest and judicious efforts that Congregationalism is now by far the strongest religious element in all southeastern Dakota; and had they but men and means to enter and occupy at once the constantly opening fields of usefulness in the Territory, Congregationalists might be equally influential and useful all over Dakota.

Another topic requires a few words before leaving this Territory, namely, that of education. It has appeared in all the foregoing history of Congregationalism, that its friends have been eminently the friends of education—common, collegiate and professional. The history of Dakota forms no exception to this rule; though as yet they have not had time, means or opportunity to do anything very noticeable in this direction. But they have done what they could; and are doing with their might what they can. The Congregationalists of Yankton were so urgent to have a school of a high order in the town, that

After much urgency their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Ward, was induced to open such a school, sometime in 1871; and this was so well patronized that after a year or two it was necessary to employ assistants, and then to organize an Academy Association, get an act of incorporation, and erect an academy building. Of the eight trustees of this institution, all were Congregationalists save one; and the three principal teachers and all the assistants were likewise Congregationalists. This movement prepared the way for the organization of the Yankton schools under a Board of Education appointed by the legislature; and it illustrates the interest and influence of the denomination in this direction, to find that the Board of Education was, with a single exception, the same as the trustees of Mr. Ward's academy. This movement was made, not because the academy was not well sustained, but solely for the sake of improving the public schools of the city. And it has accomplished this very effectually; and not this only. Other towns and cities through the Territory have been stimulated by the example of Yankton to make improvements in their educational institutions, have copied the educational charter of Yankton, and are diligently and successfully building up good local schools. Nor is this all. The Congregational Association have been for years planning and working for a college; and now at length have filed articles in the office of the Secretary of State, as the law

requires, in order to secure a charter for their college, which, if at once founded and suitably endowed, will be the first institution of the kind in the Territory.

Dakota has had a school law since 1867, but its operation has not been very effective; and chiefly because the burden of the schools is thrown entirely on the people. About one eighteenth part of all the public lands in the Territory has been set apart by the general government for the support of public schools—that is, sections sixteenth and thirty-sixth in every township. But until Dakota becomes a State, it can have no benefit of this noble provision for its public schools. It cannot touch this endowment; and the schools must be supported by direct taxation; every county levying yearly a certain gross amount for the support of its schools, to be divided among the several districts in proportion to the number of children who actually attend school in each district. In addition to this, the districts vote annually additional taxes for school purposes, greater or less, according to the circumstances of the district.

Under this system, Dakota had in 1875 one hundred and seventy-two schools, chiefly elementary, attended by four thousand four hundred and twenty-eight scholars; and one solitary academy at Yankton.

An explanation of the interest felt in education and the predominance of Congregationalism

among the people of Dakota is found in the fact that the first settlers in the Territory were largely Eastern people, a majority of them during the first five years being from Maine, and nearly all of them Congregationalists or of Congregational ancestry; and though for the past ten years Wisconsin has furnished the greater number of settlers, yet many of these are of New England ancestry, having come to Wisconsin through western New York and Ohio, which were so largely indebted to New England for early settlers. Thus it has come to pass that the ruling influence in all southeastern Dakota has been of New England origin.*

OTHER WESTERN TERRITORIES.

Of the other new Territories among the Rocky Mountains, there is very little to be said in a history of Congregationalism; for, though there may be Congregationalists in every one of them, and though there are churches of this order in several of them, yet there is but very little history to our purpose in any of them.

WYOMING has a Congregational church in Cheyenne City, the capital of the Territory. This town is situate on the Union Pacific railroad, five hundred miles west of Omaha, and is an important

*The author is greatly indebted to the Rev. Joseph Ward, the first settled pastor in Dakota, for many important facts incorporated in this sketch of that Territory.

and growing place. The church was organized on the 13th of June, 1869, by the Rev. Jerome D. Davis, from the Chicago Theological Seminary. It had, to begin with, thirteen members; but there was an increase to twenty-one in the course of the year, and in December they were ready to dedicate a small meeting-house. In 1873 they lost their pastor, and were destitute for two years, and consequently became discouraged and considerably disorganized. They gave up their Sunday school and their prayer-meetings, and were reduced in number to seventeen names. But in August, 1875, the Rev. Clarendon M. Sanders became their minister, and the whole aspect of things soon brightened. By May, 1878, they could report forty families connected with them, and a stated congregation of two hundred persons. They had raised five thousand dollars in money, had enlarged and repainted and carpeted their meeting-house, and had put a seven-hundred-dollar pipe organ into it. Besides all this, they had laid a sidewalk around the house and built a fence; and they had bought a parsonage for their minister. Their Sunday school had been reestablished, and numbered one hundred and sixty scholars, while twenty-eight persons had been added to the church.* In 1879 it reported a total membership of forty-five. At the time of its organization there was not another of like faith and order west of it, within twelve hundred

* *Home Missionary*, May, 1878, p. 11.

miles; and there is not, we believe, one now nearer than Salt Lake City, four hundred miles west. In 1878-79 the Congregational church at Cheyenne was still alone in Wyoming, though its position on the very borders of Colorado, with which it is connected ecclesiastically, allows it to enjoy the fellowship of kindred churches there.

UTAH has one Congregational church, the first Protestant church in the Territory. It was gathered by a missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, at Salt Lake City, in 1865. A small meeting-house was soon built, a respectable congregation was collected, and everything indicated success, when one of its principal supporters, and the superintendent of the Sabbath school, was assassinated by the Mormons; and our missionary, who was then at the East, collecting funds to build a larger house, was advised not to return, as his life would be in peril. The result was, that the congregation was soon scattered, the Sabbath school of two hundred and fifty children was disbanded, and the church of eighteen members was broken up. But the enterprise was not utterly abandoned by its friends; and in 1872 the old missionary, the Rev. Norman McLeod, was recommissioned at the earnest desire of his old parishioners, and resumed his labors at Salt Lake City. But a year's trial demonstrated to all interested that the Mormon hostility was too virulent against him, personally, to be overcome, or to make his continuance there expedi-

ent. He therefore gave way to the Rev. Walter M. Barrows, who in December, 1873, entered this hard field of usefulness. This gentleman seems to be the right man in the right place. He has rallied the old friends of the enterprise, and gathered around him new ones full of life and energy. The church and Sabbath school have been resuscitated, the meeting-house has been repaired and furnished, and provided with a fine organ; an intelligent and interested congregation has been collected, and the cause has grown in favor, and the church gradually increased, until now it numbers forty communicants.

The church are interested in the maintenance and prosperity of a Christian school for both sexes, which has been established at Salt Lake City, and bids fair to grow, as other Western schools of the same description have grown, into an institution of a high order, able to furnish all the advantages of a good college.

In August, 1876, the Rev. Albert W. Safford was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society, for Ogden, Utah. This place, next to Salt Lake City, is the most populous and important settlement in the Territory. It is situated about thirty miles north of Salt Lake City and a few miles east of Great Salt Lake. It is the great railroad centre for the region: the Central Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Utah Central and the Utah Northern all meeting here. It proved first a very hard and discouraging field to wor

in ; nevertheless, by midsummer, 1877, Mr. Safford had found nine persons ready to unite in forming a Congregational church. He had already gathered a good congregation and a large and prosperous Sabbath school ; though he had no meeting-house. Accordingly, a council was called, and an organization was effected by the coöperation of the Methodist church, which loaned their meeting-house for the occasion. The officiating clergymen were the Presbyterian pastor of Salt Lake City, the Rev. W. M. Barrows, of the Congregational church there, and the Rev. Dr. J. H. Warren, of San Francisco, who was providentially in the place on his homeward way. The occasion was one of great interest, as the crowded house testified.

Our missionaries in Utah have felt that day schools were as essential to the highest success of their work as such schools are in India or Japan. The Mormon leaders are opposed to all schools, except such as can be made subservient to their interests. To give their children a common-school education, based on Christian principles, would spoil them for Mormons. The missionaries are therefore everywhere using their influence to establish common schools ; and the Rev. W. M. Barrows has suggested the appointment of a missionary to travel through southern Utah and establish day schools and Sunday schools as well as Christian churches. And the establishment of

a Christian academy at Salt Lake City is an important step towards building these schools all over Utah; for this is to be a reservoir of teachers from which to supply these common and Sunday schools. This academy was incorporated under the laws of the Territory, in July, 1878, and its doors were first opened on the 9th of September of the same year. In December, it had eighty pupils under the charge of an efficient and accomplished principal, Professor Edward Benner, late of Lowell, Massachusetts; and the number of scholars it was thought might easily be doubled, if the necessary teachers and equipments could be secured.* The Methodists, the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians are all at work in the same direction — building up schools in Utah.

Besides the flourishing academy at Salt Lake City, the Congregationalists have just (January, 1880) opened a school in Park City, eighteen miles southeast of Coalville, and some forty-five east of Salt Lake City; now a town of six hundred inhabitants, and rapidly growing. Here a school of ninety pupils has been gathered, nearly half of them Mormon children. Miss L. M. Lawson, of Chestertfield, Illinois, and Miss C. B. Jewett, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, are the teachers; and Colonel Ferry, brother of Senator Ferry, of Michigan, has been elected superintendent of the

* *Home Missionary*, December, 1878, pp. 186-87.

school. In connection with the day school, a flourishing Sunday school is carried on.

Another school has been opened at West Jordan, on the Central Pacific railroad, some fifteen miles south of Salt Lake City. Miss L. Morgan, of Ohio, is the teacher of this school.*

NEVADA received her first Congregational missionary, the Rev. A. F. Hitchcock, in the summer of 1871. He was stationed at Reno, an important place on the Truckee river, and on the line of the Central Pacific railroad, near the western borders of the Territory, just east of the base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains; a centre of mining, manufacturing and farming interests for the whole neighborhood, having in 1871 a population of fifteen hundred souls. But this place proved to be a very hard field for a Christian laborer, as indeed all mining communities are. Nevertheless, a church of seven members was organized there in September, 1871, which soon increased to nineteen members, and a small meeting-house was built. The church increased very slowly for three years. It then began to decline, owing probably to the removal of members, until, in 1874-75, it numbered but twelve, and four of these were absentees. It then began to gain, and in 1876-77 reported eighteen members, and in 1878-79 twenty-eight members; but ten of them

* Rev. Walter M. Barrows, in the *Home Missionary* for February, 1880.

were reported as absentees. This is the only Congregational church in the Territory.

IDAHO had one Congregational church. In December, 1871, the Rev. Myron Eells was sent to Boise City, the capital of the Territory of Idaho, on Boise river, fifty miles above its confluence with the Snake river, in the great and rich valley of those rivers. It is in the midst of a fine agricultural and grazing country, and derives large support from the rich placer and quartz mines in the mountain districts within fifty miles of its location. Mr. Eells was the only Congregational minister in the Territory; and in 1873 (May 4th) succeeded in gathering a small Congregational church of about a dozen members. But in 1875 it lost its pastor, and soon began to decline; and in 1876 was dropped from the list of Congregational churches. Thus this Congregational effort to establish the institutions of religion permanently in Boise City failed, as had the previous efforts of three other denominations. Indeed, there is nothing harder to do than to sustain a Christian organization among a purely mining people; not because they are by nature any worse than other people, but because there is no permanency to the settlements. The people are largely fortune-seekers, intending to return whence they came so soon as their "pile" is secured. They are, too, on the alert to hear of any better place in which to make their fortunes, and ready to remove thither. They are like the shifting sands

on our dangerous sea-coasts, which compel the frequent moving of the lighthouses along the shores.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY is the only remaining section of North America in which even one Congregational church now (1880) can be found. How it may be a year hence, or even six months hence, no man can say.

The Indian Territory is a large tract of country, set apart by the United States, about 1832, as a permanent home for such Indian tribes as could be induced or forced to remove to it. Originally this Territory embraced more than ninety-five thousand square miles; but it has been curtailed from time to time, until now not quite sixty-nine thousand square miles, or a trifle more than forty-four million acres, remain to the Indians. This Territory is bounded on the east by Arkansas, on the south by Texas, west by Texas and New Mexico, and north by Kansas. Thirty or more Indian tribes and parts of tribes have been gathered into this Territory, between fifty and sixty thousand of whom are civilized Indians. They occupy over nineteen million acres of land, two hundred and twenty thousand acres of which are under actual cultivation. This land is owned by the tribes as such; but the individual farmers among them own, in the aggregate, something like seventeen million dollars' worth of personal and real estate. Among these Indians — particularly the Chero-

kees, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws and Seminoles — there were in 1873 one hundred and fifty-three schools and nearly five thousand scholars. There are also many Christian churches among them, and seven or eight thousand church members. The several great religious denominations of the country have long had missions among these now civilized Indians. The American Board began a mission among the Cherokees in 1816-17, long before their cruel removal to the Indian Territory;* and then missionaries followed the Cherokees, and also the Creeks and Chickasaws and Choctaws, to their new homes, and established among them schools and churches in considerable numbers. In 1853, the Board had five stations among the Cherokees, five missionaries, a physician and fourteen assistant missionaries, who had the care of two hundred and thirty-seven church members, and one hundred and forty-nine pupils in the schools. Among the

* Early in October, 1838, about sixteen thousand Cherokees — men, women and children — were started at the point of the bayonet on their tedious and deadly march of six hundred miles and more towards the Indian Territory; and in the course of from three and a half to five and a half months, three quarters of the number reached their reservation, having buried by the way an average of thirteen or more daily — or a total of between four and five thousand persons who sunk under the necessary hardships and exposure of the terrible march. The movement was under the general direction of Major-General Winfield Scott, who undertook it with great reluctance, and conducted it with as much considerate kindness as such a violent movement admitted.

Choctaws the Board had, in 1854, ten churches and eleven hundred church members, with five boarding-schools and one hundred and ninety-six pupils.

But all these stations, churches and schools, and many others, were given up by the Board to other evangelical missionary societies in the Territory, who, it was thought, could more conveniently and economically manage them; and the Board have now no Indian missions under their care except among the Dakotas.*

How many, if any, of the churches formed by the American Board among the Indians in the Territory were originally Congregational, we do not know. Many of the missionaries, we know, were Congregationalists, and their support came largely from New England; but the question of church order was very little regarded in those early days, and is not much regarded by the Board even now. However it may have been in early days, at present, in all this Indian Territory, the Congregationalists have but just one distinctively Congregational church, organized so lately as 1876, at Caddo, in the Choctaw Reservation, on the Missouri and Kansas railroad, near the southern borders of the Territory. This church consisted of eleven members, and the average con-

* The materials of this sketch have been drawn from *Newcomb's Cyclopædia of Missions*; *Reports of A. B. C. F. M.*; and *Johnson's Encyclopedia*, which has an excellent article on the Indian Territory.

gregation worshipping with it was about seventy in 1878-79.*

And here we end our weary travels over North America in search of Congregational churches. If any have escaped our notice, they must be very carefully hid away in secret places; for we have searched diligently and spared no pains to be able to present summarily but distinctly before the reader an outline history of Congregationalism in North America from 1620, when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, to this very year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eighty.

* From *The Congregationalist* of June 30th, 1880, it appears that a Congregational church has been recently formed at Vinita, Indian Territory, whose new church building was dedicated June 20th. "The building is among the finest in the Territory and was dedicated free of debt. It will seat about two hundred. During the day sixteen persons were baptized, one immersion; and three members were received." The pastor of this church is the Rev. J. W. Scroggs. — G. R. J.

CHAPTER XII.

RESUME OF PRECEDING HISTORY — GROWTH, VITALITY AND CATHOLICITY OF CONGREGATIONALISM — ITS SPIRIT OF UNION — ITS DEVOTION TO EDUCATION — PRINCELY GIFTS.

WE have now surveyed in a cursory manner the entire history of Congregationalism in North America, from 1620-29 to 1878-79; and what have we learned? This, surely: that a little one has become a thousand, and a small one a strong people — and not this only; a people zealous of good works; a people enterprising and liberal to a noticeable degree; a people who value intellectual culture, and have ever and everywhere been forward and self-sacrificing to secure it for themselves and for all around them; a people who, while loving their own simple and Scriptural church polity, have yet been prompt to unite with good men in efforts to advance the common salvation, quite regardless of their own denominational interests; a people who have ever been ready to sing, with the spirit and the understanding also,

We love Thy kingdom, Lord,

and to rejoice in every manifestation of its progress in the world: in religious revivals at home, and in the extension of the gospel among the unevangelized nations of the earth; and who, to accomplish these most desirable ends, have prayed,

and labored, and given most liberally — their personal services, their sons and daughters, as well as their gold and silver.

All this is claimed for the Christian people whose history has been summarized in these pages; claimed, however, not in the spirit of boasting; not with the thought that we are the people, and that wisdom will die with us; not in unmindfulness of the credit due other evangelical denominations for their work and labor of love which they have showed toward the name of Him whose name is above every other. It is not in any such spirit, or with any feeling of selfish exclusiveness — which would be utterly foreign to our denominational character — that we claim all these honorable distinctions for Congregationalism; but it is simply as a matter of justice to a denomination of Christians which, though the oldest in the United States, has in many quarters been less known and less understood and appreciated than any of the great religious bodies of the country.

In support of these high denominational claims, we may recall some of the prominent facts recorded in these pages.

On the 21st of December, 1620, the first Congregational church ever seen on this continent landed from the Mayflower, in Plymouth harbor. Of exactly how many members it consisted, cannot now be known; but probably of not more than seventy or eighty, about half of whom died before spring. These were, as good Governor

Bradford modestly says, "by the blessing of God, the first beginners, and, in a sort, the foundation of all the plantations and colonies in New England;" and, we may add, of all the Congregational churches now scattered, more or less thickly, over forty-two States and Territories, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, some twenty-five hundred miles, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the great lakes, some sixteen hundred miles; and covering an area of more than three million square miles.

Until August 6th, 1629, the Plymouth church was alone in this vast wilderness; but on that day it had the satisfaction of giving the right hand of fellowship to a Congregational church in Salem. Ten months later — June 1-8th, 1630 — the Dorchester church arrived, and settled at Mattapan, afterwards called Dorchester, and became the third Congregational church in America. On the 30th of July, 1630, two more churches were formed: the Boston church, at Charlestown, and the Watertown church. Three more were added to the list in 1632, and in the course of the years 1633-40 six additional churches were constituted in Plymouth colony, fourteen in Massachusetts, seven in Connecticut, and two in New Hampshire. Thus, in twenty years after the landing of the Pilgrims, thirty-seven Congregational churches had been planted and were flourishing in New England; and a great and wonderful work this was, considering all the circumstances under which

it was accomplished — a work which only a peculiar people, zealous of good works, would or could have accomplished.

In 1645, New England had a population of about fifteen thousand souls, and forty-five Congregational churches. The growth of our churches during the last half of the seventeenth century was by no means rapid; it did not keep pace with the population; though in 1696, with a population of about one hundred and twenty thousand, we had at least one hundred and thirty churches (exclusive of Indian churches).*

The progress of Congregationalism during the two following generations — between 1696 and 1759 — was very satisfactory, if not very great. Massachusetts and Connecticut each added to their list the same number of churches — one hundred and twenty-seven; New Hampshire, thirty; Maine, fifteen; Rhode Island, three; and now, for the first time, we have Congregational churches to report outside of New England — four having been formed in the State of New York; making an aggregate of three hundred and six additional churches.

Between 1760 and 1800 there was a very considerable increase of our churches; though these years included the exciting period which followed the conquest of Canada, the preliminary move-

* Compare vol. iv of this *History*, p. 610, and p. 611, note — G. B. J.

ments towards the American Revolution, which began as early as 1764, and the war itself, from 1776 to 1782; together with the scarcely less exciting movements attending the adoption of the Constitution and the settlement of the government of the United States. During these forty years of all-pervading political and military interest and excitement, the Congregational churches increased largely in New England, making their way into a new State, which had never before been reckoned among the sisterhood — Vermont; and across the Hudson, into New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. Connecticut organized, in this time, thirty-eight new churches; Maine, forty-four; New Hampshire, sixty-nine; Massachusetts, seventy-three; New York, twenty-two, which still continue on our list; Vermont, seventy-three; Pennsylvania, one; and Ohio, one; making, in all, three hundred and twenty-one churches, which continue to this day.

The population of New England in 1800 was one million two hundred and thirty-three thousand, and of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio about as many more — making a total in these nine States into which the Congregationalists had then found their way, of two million five hundred and twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and ninety-two; or nearly one half the then existing population of the United States.* So

* It is nearly impossible now to ascertain the exact number of churches of the Congregational order formed previous to

that there was then one Congregational church to about every sixteen hundred and fifty-nine souls — men, women and children — in the New England States.

It will of course be understood that these figures give only the number of churches now in existence, and by no means the number that have been organized by Congregationalists. Hundreds of our churches have passed into the hands of the Presbyterians; and very many have died out — though it is a hard matter to kill out a Congregational church when once fully rooted and grounded in a place.

In 1884 the number of Trinitarian Congregational churches in the United States was estimated at twelve hundred and fifty; the ministers, at eleven hundred, and the communicants, at one hundred and fifty-five thousand; and, estimating the communicants as one in nine of the population, we have about a million four hundred thousand souls,* or about one in seventeen of the

about the middle of this century. The numbers given in the text are obtained chiefly by counting the churches in our lists under the different years; and though no account is made of such as are not now on our list — a very considerable number — the numbers given are believed to be substantially correct; the estimate being less than the true number rather than greater. In addition to Dr. Quint's invaluable statistical tables in the *Cong'l Year-Book*, I have availed myself of *Holmes' Annals*, ii, 103, 537-38; the *Am. Quar. Register*, vii, 20—; and Dr. Joseph S. Clark's data, in the *Cong'l Year-Book* for 1884.

* *American Quarterly Register*, vi, 201, compared with pp. 141-48.

entire population of the United States, under Congregational influence and training.

In 1854 the number of Congregational churches in the country was not far from twenty-one hundred. The number actually returned, according to the *Year-Book*, was two thousand and eighty-nine; but these reports are confessedly deficient. Thus, for example, Pennsylvania is credited with seven Congregational churches in 1854; whereas eighteen new churches were actually formed in that State in the course of the years 1834-54, and there were at least eleven of our churches in the State previous to 1834; which would give us twenty-nine living churches in Pennsylvania in 1854, instead of seven. The whole number of our communicants was not far from two hundred and seven thousand six hundred, according to the *Year-Book* for 1855.

In 1864 our churches had increased five hundred and ninety-nine—being that year twenty-six hundred and sixty-eight; and our church members, fifty-five thousand and forty-nine—being two hundred and sixty-two thousand six hundred and forty-nine at that date.

In 1874 we had thirty-four hundred and three churches—a net gain in ten years of seven hundred and thirty-five churches; while the number of our communicants was reported at three hundred and thirty thousand three hundred and ninety-one—a gain over all losses of sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and forty-two members since 1864.

In 1878 the denomination had thirty-six hundred and twenty churches, and three hundred and seventy-five thousand six hundred and fifty-four church members; showing a gain of two hundred and seventeen churches and forty-five thousand two hundred and sixty-three communicants in the course of four years. And the number of Congregational ministers in the United States had increased in fourteen years (1864-78) from twenty-seven hundred and ninety-eight to thirty-four hundred and ninety-six.

Thus has the little one become a thousand. Our growth has not been rapid; but it has been healthy and strong growth—a Christian growth—not simply a denominational one. For it is not boasting of things without our measure to say that, of all the Christian denominations which now pervade this vast and populous country, the Congregational denomination has been among the least selfish and sectarian. Compared with other denominations, we are still “a little one”—ranking the seventh, instead of the first, as we did for a century and a half; yet it may be truthfully said of us, “As poor, yet making many rich.” We have been as a little leaven which has leavened, more or less, the great mass of Christian people in this country. While all denominations have felt the influence of our principles and polity, some have drawn largely on us for their own support. The denomination which ranks third in

point of numbers, and even higher than that in point of influence, in this country, has been very largely indebted to us for its prosperity. We have formed hundreds of churches, and then quietly surrendered them to Presbyterianism, under the mistaken conviction that we were thus doing God service. Still, we are holding our way and growing stronger and stronger; and we have no idle lamentations to make over the denominational losses which we have sustained, so long as we can believe that they have not been losses to evangelical religion.

LIBERALITY.

Another thing quite as characteristic of Congregationalism as its inherent vitality, and even more to its credit, is its abounding liberality. We mean that "grace of God . . . bestowed on the churches of Macedonia," which the apostle styled (2 Cor. viii: 2) "the riches of their liberality." This began to shine out of that poor, little church at Plymouth as soon as it had secured a resting-place for itself in the wilderness, in "the helping over of some of their friends from Leyden;" which assistance they rendered in 1629-30, at a money expense of about £550, in addition to the support of these friends until they could raise crops for themselves — "a rare example," as Governor Bradford well says, "of brotherly love, and Christian care in performing their promises and covenants to their bretheren, too, and in

a sorte beyonde their power . . . for they never demanded, much less had, any repaymente of all these great sumes thus disbursed."*

The Massachusetts Congregationalists were equally ready to give, not only for the support of home institutions—which they did most liberally—and for the poor which they had always with them, but also for the relief of brethren whom they had never seen. This was the case when the churches of the Bay contributed £800 for "the poor church of Christ that had been banished from the Bermudas, for the gospel's sake, to Segotea;" sending a messenger with their contributions and letters of Christian condolence and encouragement.

And this hereditary trait of Congregationalists has descended to our own times. We have no statistical returns from our churches previous to the middle of this century, and even since, scarcely more than two thirds of the churches have ever made any returns. But, from the returns made, it appears that, in the course of fifteen years, these reporting churches have contributed to benevolent objects an aggregate of more than fifteen millions of dollars—a million and more yearly; while their home expenditures must have been, in the aggregate, thirty millions more, or an average of two millions a year.† The total

* *Bradford's History of Plymouth*, 227, 249.

† The *Year-Book* for 1879 shows that, in the course of eight

contributions reported for 1878 amounted to more than three and a quarter millions of dollars — \$3,265,686.86 ; which was a smaller sum than had been contributed for several previous years.

UNDENOMINATIONAL SPIRIT.

Another characteristic of Congregationalists is their readiness to unite with good men of other denominations in forming and sustaining benevolent and religious institutions.

If we except the American Board at its very first organization, and the American Congregational Union, formed in 1853 expressly to aid feeble Congregational churches in building meeting-houses, and the Congregational Publishing Society, organized in 1829 as the Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, there has never been a purely and exclusively denominational society of a public character formed by Congregationalists in this country since there were other evangelical people to share with them. All the great national benevolent societies now supported and managed mainly by Congregationalists — such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions — except for a very short time — the American Home Missionary So-

years, an average of twelve hundred and twenty-nine churches — no more reporting — have contributed \$15,387,964.66 for home uses ; while an average of two thousand and eighty-six churches have made benevolent contributions to the amount of \$16,141,672.74 in the course of fifteen years.

ciety, the American Education Society and the American Missionary Association — were originally Union societies; and so far as they are now denominational, they have become such by the withdrawal from them of other denominations, that they might more effectually build up their own churches and institutions. For an entire generation the Congregationalists of New England continued to pour their contributions into the treasury of the American Home Missionary Society, whose principal work was to build up Presbyterian churches in the new settlements of the West; and of this there was little complaint so long as the Presbyterians continued their contributions, however small, to this society; but when the contributions of the very churches which the society was aiding were diverted to purely denominational uses, even Congregationalists became aware that the American Home Missionary Society could no longer be counted among union coöperative institutions. But the American Board, though now supported — with a few individual exceptions — by Congregationalists, pursues still its undenominational work.

DEVOTION TO EDUCATION.

Another fact in which we cannot help taking an honest pride as a denomination is, that Congregationalists have always been forward in establishing common schools, academies, colleges, and theological seminaries; and this, not simply for

intellectual purposes, but mainly as a means to a religious end. From the very first, our seminaries of learning have been dedicated to Christ and his church; and it is within the memory of many who may read these lines, that prayers for institutions of learning were daily offered at the family altar.

From the days of John Wickliffe and the Lollards, the friends of free churches have been the uniform friends and supporters of free schools. As soon as the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England had houses to cover their families, they began to make provision for the instruction of their children; and from that time to the present, wherever Congregationalists have gone, free schools have found friends and supporters.

Nor have they been content with elementary education. Next to the common school, an academy and a college have been the immediate objects of their affectionate interest. We have seen this, from the time that the Massachusetts General Court, in 1636, agreed to give £400 towards founding a school or college, to be dedicated to Christ and his church, to the time when a few poor ministers and representatives of small Congregational churches in our Western Territories have gathered in prayer and consultation, with reference to the establishment of a school and college in the community in which their lot had been cast.

Congregationalists have founded, or contributed

freely to found, forty colleges, universities and theological seminaries, most of which still remain in their hands, and under their control to a considerable extent, scattered over twenty-five of the States of the Union. Some of these institutions, it is true, are at present little else than preparatory schools. But they all have college or university charters, it is believed; and are aiming at the highest possible standard of collegiate excellence.

It will be satisfactory to have a list of the institutions which the denomination has founded in this country, though it may not be a perfect list. We call these Congregational institutions, because they were built up mainly by Congregationalists; not because they are sectarian or denominational in any exclusive sense. They are open and free to every one qualified to enter them, no religious tests being employed. Men of all faiths are welcome, on the simple condition of conformity to rules and regulations.

Here is a list, tolerably full, of our literary institutions:

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>State.</i>	<i>Founded.</i>
Andover Theolog. Seminary,	Massachusetts	1808
Bangor " "	Maine	1816
New Haven " "	Connecticut	1822
Oberlin " "	Ohio	1833
Hartford " "	Connecticut	1834
Chicago " "	Illinois	1858
Pacific " "	California	1869

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>State.</i>	<i>Founded.</i>
Harvard College	Massachusetts	1638
Yale "	Connecticut	1700
Dartmouth "	New Hampshire	1769
University of Vermont	Vermont	1791
Williams College	Massachusetts	1793
Middlebury "	Vermont	1800
Bowdoin "	Maine	1802
Amherst "	Massachusetts	1821
Oberlin "	Ohio	1833
Illinois "	Illinois	1835
Beloit "	Wisconsin	1847
Iowa "	Iowa	1848
Olivet "	Michigan	1858
Berea "	Kentucky	1858
Wheaton "	Illinois	1858
Ripon "	Wisconsin	1863
Grand Traverse College	Michigan	1863
Washburn College	Kansas	1865
Tabor "	Iowa	1866
Fisk University	Tennessee	1867
Carleton College	Minnesota	1867
Howard University	Washington, D.C.	1867
Atlanta University	Georgia	1868
Thayer College	Missouri	1869
Straight University	Louisiana	1869
Talladega College	Alabama	1869
Tougaloo University	Mississippi	1871
Drury College	Missouri	1873
Donne "	Nebraska	1873
Colorado "	Colorado	1874
Smith "	Massachusetts	1875
Wellesley College	Massachusetts	1875

In addition to the above list of colleges which may unquestionably be claimed as Congregational in their origin, and substantially so in their gen-

eral character, though many of them are designated in the list of colleges as "non-sectarian," there are several which were built up at first largely by New England men and money, and some of which even now receive aid from our College and Education Society. Under this general head may be classed :

Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio, founded in 1835, which has long had at its head a sound Congregationalist, as well as an able and efficient scholar; Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio, founded in 1826; Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, founded in 1833; Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois, founded in 1841; Hamilton College, Clinton, New York, founded in 1812, which has for its president an accomplished Congregational scholar and divine, the son of a New England Congregational president. And to this list should be added the College of California, now called the University of California, at Berkeley, founded in 1869; and the Pacific University, at Forest Grove, Oregon, founded in 1854, and having for its first president a Congregationalist, the son of a Congregational president, distinguished alike for his learning and his modesty, James Marsh. Auburn Theological Seminary, New York, founded in 1820, and Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1829, were both greatly indebted to New England pecuniary aid; and the latter had for its first president a leading New England Congregational di-

vine. Important help has also been given by Congregationalists to Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, 1845 — an Evangelical Lutheran institution; and to other Lutheran and German Reformed institutions at the West.*

The same love of good learning which has been shown by the Congregationalists in founding colleges and theological seminaries has led to the founding and funding of academies for both sexes, in which the higher branches of an English education and those necessary for admission to college are taught. These institutions were once to be found all over New England. In 1830 Maine alone had at least thirty of them; nearly all endowed with eleven thousand five hundred and twenty acres of land, a few with just twice that amount of land, and most of them with funds varying from three or four thousand dollars to twenty or more thousands.

New Hampshire had at the same time twenty-five incorporated academies, and among them Phillips Exeter Academy, the oldest but one in New England, founded in 1781. Vermont had about twenty academies; Massachusetts had fifty-five or sixty academies, and among them the

* I am indebted for this supplementary list of institutions to Dr. Increase N. Tarbox, Secretary of the American College and Education Society. For the general list I am indebted largely to the *Cyclopædia of Education*, the *Year Book of Education* for 1870, the *Reports of the American Missionary Association*, and the *Home Missionary* periodical.

oldest in New England, Phillips Andover Academy, founded in 1780. This, with its mate at Exeter—the two oldest, and still among the very best in this country—was founded by two brothers, Samuel Phillips, of Andover, Massachusetts, and John Phillips, of Exeter, New Hampshire, who made their donations for the purpose as early as 1777. The design of these two institutions, as expressed by their founders, was “to lay the foundation of a public free school or academy, for the purpose of instructing youth, not only in English and Latin grammar, writing, arithmetic, and those sciences wherein they are commonly taught, but more especially to learn them the great and real business of living. The first and principal object of this institution [the Phillips Andover] being the promotion of true piety and virtue.”

Connecticut had about twenty-five academies at the same date. This would give for New England, in 1830, one hundred and sixty-eight incorporated academies, in a population of about two millions. These academies had funds estimated at from about five hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand dollars; and they had, in 1830, an aggregate of about seven thousand scholars, and between three and four hundred teachers.

It is not supposed that the number of our academies has increased in New England, during the last half-century, in any proportion to our

increase of population; for our excellent public high schools, grammar schools and normal schools have very largely superseded them, so far, at least, as literary culture is concerned. But the new institutions of an academic kind which the denomination has founded and sustained, have several of them been of a much higher order than the old academy; more richly endowed, more amply supplied with teachers and with apparatus of every kind needed, and with accommodations for the much larger number of students who resort to them. Among these may be named Williston Academy, at Easthampton; Wheaton Female Seminary, at Norton; Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, at South Hadley; and Abbot Female Academy, at Andover. These institutions are generally well endowed, have sufficient teachers—ten, twenty, thirty and more—and have from one to three or more hundred students at a time. All these have been recently founded, and several of them by the princely generosity of individual Congregationalists.

And the benevolence of Congregationalists did not exhaust itself by the establishment of these academies and theological seminaries and colleges; for, from 1777 to 1879, the stream of benevolence has continued to flow towards them, and never in larger volume than in these latter days.

A table of gifts to Congregational colleges, seminaries and academies, furnished by the editor of the *Congregational Quarterly* for 1868, shows

that these institutions received in the course of five years (1863-68) more than \$2,000,000 in gifts from their friends: \$73,000 were given to three academies — Phillips, Holyoke and Bradford; \$305,000 were given to Yale, Hartford, Bangor and Andover Theological Seminaries; and \$1,617,000 to Yale, Williams, Middlebury, Oberlin, Marietta, Illinois, Amherst, Bowdoin and Dartmouth Colleges, and the University of Vermont.*

And though we have no careful estimate of the benefactions of Congregationalists to literary institutions within the past ten or twelve years, it is safe to assert that they have been much larger than they were during the decade which preceded.

Not to mention the great number of college scholarships — of one, two, five, and even ten thousand dollars — which have been provided by generous individuals, we must stop and admire the modest, generous woman who founded Smith College, in Northampton, now second to no female college in the United States; having a score and more of accomplished teachers, and from one hundred and thirty to two hundred students. And the half million of dollars, or more, which Miss Sophia Smith, of Hatfield, Massachu-

* My principal authorities for what has been said of our institutions of learning are the volumes of the *American Quarterly Register*, particularly years 1830 and 1833; the *Congregational Quarterly*, *passim*; the *Cyclopædia of Education*.

setts, invested in this college did not exhaust her grace of liberality; as the seventy-five thousand dollars given to Hatfield Academy, and the fifty thousand given to the scientific department of Amherst College, and the thirty thousand to Andover Theological Seminary, loudly testify.

And there, too, was Samuel Williston, of Easthampton, Massachusetts, who, in addition to two hundred and seventy thousand dollars with which he endowed Williston Academy, at Easthampton, dedicated to that and other literary institutions more than a million of dollars.

The founders of the noble Wellesley College have already expended hundreds of thousands of dollars — probably a million — on that female college, with its collegiate and academic departments, and designed for the higher education of women and their collegiate instruction. It had, at last accounts, twenty-nine teachers and three hundred and thirty students; and stands abreast with the best institutions of the kind in Christendom, while thoroughly Christian.

And though we may not mention a score of other generous givers, yet one quiet lady, unknown except in her own immediate circle, must be mentioned among the princely benefactors of the literary institutions of the land — Mrs. Valeria G. Stone, of Malden. A complete list of her benefactions cannot be given; but it is safe to say that her actual and contemplated gifts for the upbuilding of the Redeemer's kingdom —

largely to literary institutions — will amount to about one million dollars.*

We have no thought of claiming a monopoly of this good work for our denomination; but simply to claim for Congregationalists the honor of being uniformly, everywhere, at all times and at all sacrifices, the friends and founders of Christian colleges, as well as of academies and higher institutions of learning, for both males and females, and common and elementary schools. And this surely is a noble characteristic.

* Mrs. Stone's gifts of a strictly public kind exceed the sum named in the text by a quarter of a million of dollars. — G. B. J.

CHAPTER XIII.

REVIVALS, FROM THE FIRST TO 1878.

THERE is another important topic on which something must be said in this summary of Congregational history, namely: the relation of the denomination to revivals of religion. For, those seasons of special awakening to spiritual and eternal things which are called revivals have ever been welcomed by evangelical Congregationalists as the most precious gifts of God, and with them the life and prosperity of our churches have ever been identified; and this may be justly regarded as one of the highest recommendations of Congregationalism.

The great Lollard movement in England, about A.D. 1360-1420, out of which grew Independency and Congregationalism, was essentially a religious revival, which preceded, and prepared the way for, the English Reformation, about A.D. 1533-52; so that the denomination may in truth be said to have been born in a revival—or rather, to have been brought to life and activity by such gracious visitations from on high as are now called revivals.

The immigration of the Pilgrims and Puritans into New England was a revival movement. Nothing but a quickened and extraordinary relig-

ious sensibility could ever have induced and sustained this most wonderful movement—such as the world never before witnessed, and at which men stood astonished, as entirely beyond their comprehension. And all the early years of our colonial life were essentially revival years; not so called by the fathers, but really and truly such, judged by their fruits; for they were years of most extraordinary consecration and devotion of Christian people to God, attended by the continued increase of their number by conversions from the world. And this was the state of things in New England for nearly or quite an entire generation.

In point of fact, this revival spirit continued to pervade New England until the great bulk of the men and women who came to this country previous to 1640 had passed from the stage. Our golden age extended from about 1630 to 1660. Soon after that time we begin to hear of religious declension; though as late as 1678, Increase Mather, while complaining that conversions were becoming rare in that age of the world, yet admits that most of the churches about that time had experienced “a sprinkling of the Spirit . . . though not that general pouring down of the Spirit that is to be desired.”

It was a maxim early announced and generally accepted by the first settlers of New England, that “originally, they are a plantation religious, not a plantation of trade.” And the general

tone of feeling among the primitive settlers of this country, and their religious experiences, are well described by one of the first settlers of Massachusetts, Roger Clap, of Dorchester, when he says: "The Lord Jesus Christ was so plainly held out in the preaching of the gospel unto poor, lost sinners, and the absolute necessity of the new birth; and God's Holy Spirit in those days was pleased to accompany the Word with such efficacy upon the hearts of many, that our hearts were taken off from Old England and set upon heaven. . . . O, how did men and women, young and old, pray for grace — beg for Christ, in those days! And it was not in vain. Many were converted, and others established in believing. Many joined unto the several churches where they lived, confessing their faith publicly, and showing before all the assembly their experiences of the workings of God's Spirit in their hearts to bring them to Christ. . . . In those days God, even our own God, did bless New England."

This is the testimony of an intelligent layman, who came over in 1630, and was a prominent and influential citizen until 1691. He wrote his "memoirs" — from which the above is copied — about 1676, for his children and children's children; that they might know what he had seen and experienced in the course of his eventful life, which was prolonged to his eighty-second year.*

* See *Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 343-37; and *The Christian History*, p. 72.

The fact that the earliest condition of New England was very like what is now witnessed in seasons of revival, is made plain by the efforts of the older ministers, and even the magistrates, between 1660 and 1680, to recover that primitive condition of things. Sermons were preached, days of fasting and prayer were appointed, and proclamations were made, for the purpose of stirring up the people to that state of feeling which pervaded the community during the previous generation. And these efforts were attended with partial success, at least. The famous Synod of 1679-80 had this reformation specially in view; and the many revivals which followed that Synod prove that its labors were not in vain in the Lord, and that the second generation of New England Congregationalists really valued, and to a considerable extent enjoyed, revivals of religion, as did their fathers before them. President Edwards gives us some account of the revivals enjoyed at Northampton between 1679 and 1718, five in number, which affected the community as similar revivals did before, and have ever since done; and what was experienced at Northampton was only a sample of what was enjoyed in other towns during the same period.

The organization of "Societies for the Suppression of Disorders," "Societies for Religious Exercises" and other "Religious Societies without number," which met for conference and prayer and "to forward one another in the fear of

God"—to which the *Christian History* (p. 108) refers, as common during the last years of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth—may properly be regarded as proofs of the interest felt by the churches in religious revivals, and, at the same time, as fruits of the revival spirit among them.

By these and like means a very considerable reviving of religion was experienced in the churches about the year 1680, and again about 1704-05, when "an unusual and amazing impression was made by the Holy Spirit on all sorts of people, especially the young men and women of the community;" so that some good men were ready to "think sometimes," as one said in March, 1704-05, "that the time of the pouring out of the Spirit upon all flesh may be at the door."*

About the year 1727, also, there was considerable religious interest in these colonies, following "the general and amazing earthquake throughout New England and the neighboring Provinces." But this revival was of brief continuance. A more remarkable revival followed in the years 1734-36. Beginning at Northampton, Massachusetts, near the close of the year 1733, it spread over the town until "there was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world."† From Northampton the work

* Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Taunton, in *Christian History*, p. 100-111

† President Edwards' Narrative, in *Christian History*, 1, 115—

spread all over the county of Hampshire, and into Connecticut; or, rather, we should say, a similar work of grace began almost or quite simultaneously in Connecticut, before there had been any communication with Northampton. And the influence of this wonderful revival was felt all over New England, and even beyond; stirring the hearts of God's people, and preparing the way for the "Great Awakening," which began near the close of 1739, and was greatly promoted by the labors of George Whitefield, who arrived in this country on his second visit — his first to New England — in the autumn of that year, though he did not visit New England until the next year. On Sunday, the 14th of September, 1740, he began his work at Newport, Rhode Island; and on Thursday, the 18th, he reached Boston, where he preached his first sermon, on Friday afternoon, in the old Brattle street meeting-house, to as many people as could get within the sound of his voice. From Boston, after preaching almost incessantly for ten days — once on the Common, to six or eight thousand persons — he went eastward as far as York, Maine, preaching as he went in all the principal towns along the way. He then retraced his steps towards Boston, preaching on the way to greater and more deeply interested crowds, even, than at first flocked to hear him; and after some further labor in Boston, he preached his farewell sermon, Sunday afternoon, October 12th, to a congregation of

from twenty to thirty thousand people, on Boston Common.

And now began the greatest religious awakening in New England that had been witnessed since the days of the early fathers. Following Mr. Whitefield came the excellent Gilbert Tennent, who supplemented the great revivalist's earnest, moving, winning, melting addresses with his own deep, experimental, heart-searching discourses, designed and adapted to deepen and make thorough and permanent the religious impressions already produced in the minds of the people. And that this work was not a merely ephemeral excitement was proved by the fact that, after both these distinguished evangelists had left New England, the people continued to flock to the churches, and to resort to their pastors for religious instruction. Mr. Prince, of the Old South Church, said that "now it was such a time as we never knew;" and Mr. Cooper, of Brattle street, said that more came to him in one week in deep concern about their souls than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry: about six hundred different persons visiting him in three months' time. Mr. Webb, of the New North Church, had in the same time above a thousand to visit him for religious conversation. And this good work continued in Boston above a year and a half after Mr. Whitefield's departure.

The excesses of Davenport and Barber, who followed Tennent — pious enthusiasts, if not ab-

solutely crazy men—finally brought the work into disrepute, and greatly prejudiced many against it. But the power and extent and genuineness of this revival in general, notwithstanding the extravagances and downright errors which mingled in it, were fully and solemnly attested in the summer of 1743 by no less than one hundred and fourteen Congregational ministers who had witnessed in their own parishes the power and glory of this wonderful effusion of the Holy Spirit. The historian, Trumbull, pronounced it “the most glorious and extensive revival of religion and reformation of manners which this country ever experienced.” It was estimated that, in the course of three years, from thirty to forty thousand souls were born into the family of heaven in New England, besides great numbers in New York and New Jersey and in the Southern Provinces; “and,” further, Trumbull says, “the effects on great numbers were abiding and most happy. They were the most uniform, exemplary Christians with whom I was ever acquainted.”* Rightly to appreciate this work, it must be remembered that it was wrought in a very short time and on a comparatively small population. The entire population of these Provinces, which subsequently became the United States, could not have much exceeded a million of souls in 1750; and that of the New England Provinces

* *History of Congregationalism*, II, 263.

was not much, if any, over three hundred and fifty thousand. Now, twenty thousand converts in New England is the lowest estimate made by any contemporary authority as the fruits of this "Great Awakening." * This would be equal to one convert in about every seventeen souls, great and small, in New England; or one in fifty to the entire population of the country at that time. A revival which should afford a proportional number of converts in New England to-day would give us more than two hundred and thirty-five thousand souls — the present population of these Eastern States being reckoned at four millions; it was about three millions five hundred thousand in 1870.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the Great Awakening in New England was almost exclusively among Congregationalists; and for the very good reason that there were at the time but few of any other persuasion in these colonies; and that, of these others, only the Presbyterians cordially entered into the spirit of this great work. But they constituted only a very small fraction of the people of New England between 1730 and 1760. There were more Congregational church members in Massachusetts alone, in 1730, than there were Presbyterians in all this country.

* See Rev. Joseph Tracy's admirable, accurate and exhaustive work on the revival of religion in the time of Edwards and Whitefield, entitled, *The Great Awakening*, 8vo, 1842, pp. 433.

In New England there could not have been above six or eight Presbyterian ministers and congregations, and, possibly, as many hundred persons of that persuasion, in 1730; while the Congregationalists had two hundred and sixty churches and twenty-two thousand church members in these Eastern colonies.*

In the fifteen Church of England parishes which existed in New England in 1733, there was no sympathy with the Great Awakening; and the nine Baptist churches of Massachusetts and the thirteen in Rhode Island — there were none in New Hampshire, Maine or Vermont in 1730 — were generally prejudiced against the work — so Backus says — and as a body took no part in it.† The Methodists would have been interested in this great revival had there been any in New England; but there were no Methodist societies in New England until about 1766; so of necessity the Great Awakening was almost

* Among the first Presbyterian ministers who came to New England — perhaps the first of all — was the Rev. John Moorhead, of Boston. . . . He arrived at Boston about the year 1727, with a number of Presbyterian families from the north of Ireland. About the same time other Presbyterian ministers and people came from Ireland, and settled at Pelham, Londonderry and elsewhere. But the first Presbytery, consisting of three ministers and three elders, was not formed until 1746; which in 1770 had increased only to twelve ministers and the same number of congregations. — Dr. Dana's *Letter to Dr. Hill, on History of the Rise, Progress, &c., of American Presbyterianism*, chap. ii; 8vo, 224 pp., 1839.

† *Hist. Bap.*, chap. xi.

confined, in its blessed effects, to the Congregational communities, so far as New England was concerned. Perhaps the best single fact illustrative of this is furnished by the notable increase of the Congregational churches in New England between 1730-60. From about two hundred and sixty, with an aggregate of about twenty-three thousand communicants, in 1730, our churches more than doubled in the course of thirty years, being, in 1760, as many as five hundred and thirty: Massachusetts, including Maine, having above three hundred churches; Connecticut, one hundred and seventy; New Hampshire, forty-three; and Rhode Island, thirteen.*

Though from about 1760 to the close of the Revolutionary War there was no general revival of religion in New England — how could there be during the political and military excitement of those twenty years? — yet there were local revivals of more or less power and extent — particularly in Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont — in 1765, 1773, 1776, 1779. But in 1780-83, these seasons of refreshing began again to be experienced, particularly among the Baptists:†

* *The Life of President Stiles*, pp. 92-93; compared with *Am. Quar. Rev.*, iv, 305.

† *Am. Quar. Rev.*, v, 210-14; *Conn. Evangelical Magazine*, i, 247, 311; *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, v, 250-60; *Life and Times of Isaac Backus*, 203-60, 283-93. Dr. Backus said of the revivals in 1779-81, that since the Great Awakening there had not been so extensive and deep a work of grace in New England.

and from about the time of the settlement of our national government, and the inauguration of Washington, April 30th, 1789, a change spread rapidly over the face of things spiritual in every part of our country. Good people began to sing: "Lo, the winter is passed, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land!" Revivals of religion appeared, and converts were multiplied in every direction, increasing in number and power until 1799, when it was said by Dr. Backus, a very well informed Baptist historian, that religion was revived in more places in New England, particularly among the Baptists, than for eighteen years previous.

In 1797-99, more than fifty towns in Connecticut were visited with revivals, and more than a thousand persons were hopefully converted there in the course of about four months. Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine and Massachusetts, all shared largely in this outpouring of the Spirit; as did Long Island, originally settled by New England Congregationalists.*

The closing years of the eighteenth century were marked by revivals all over this country.

* See, for particulars, *Memoir of Dr. Baldwin*, Boston, 1826, p. 36; *Backus*, pp. 302-04; *Theological Magazine*, New York, i, 320, ii, 233, *New York Missionary Magazine*, i, 35, 38-45, 49, 114, 115, *et passim*; *Conn. Evangelical Magazine*, i, 19-30, 65-64, 213-223.

Not less than one hundred and fifty visited New England. And of these, it was said that they were of "greater power and glory than the churches had known at any former period;" or, as an aged minister expressed it, "Never has such a time been known in New England since the years 1741-42."*

The Rev. Dr. Griffin, in a dedication sermon preached at Williams College in 1828, thus speaks of that notable season of revival: "The year 1792, it has been said, ushered a new era into the world. . . . In that year commenced that series of revivals in America which has never been interrupted, night or day, and which never will be, until the earth is full of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."†

In 1800-04 there were revivals of considerable power in Massachusetts, in New Hampshire, Vermont and Connecticut, and in Western New York and portions of Pennsylvania, which were being settled by New England people, who had been followed in their emigrations by our missionaries. In the course of the years 1797-1808, it was estimated that at least one hundred and fifty different New England churches were visited with revival influences. In 1803-05 there were extraordinary revivals in New Connecticut, Ohio,

* *Conn. Evang. Mag.*, 1, pp 241-50; *New York Mus. Mag.*, 1811, p 11. See, also, *New England Revivals*, published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1846.

† *Humphrey's Revival Sketches*, p. 114.

settled by New England people. In 1805-07, and 1808, revivals were also enjoyed in different sections of New England, and in western New York, where thirty ministers had been induced to settle in the course of the years 1800-06. In the little State of Rhode Island, about four hundred converts were added to the Congregational churches in 1807-08. In thirteen towns in Hampshire county, Mass., the number of converts in 1807-08 was estimated at upwards of one thousand.* And this work continued into 1809. In fact, there was an almost continuous revival in New England and in other parts of the country, from about 1798 to 1808-09.

Dr. Ebenezer Porter, one of the most cautious and judicious men of his age, as well as one of the best, who was contemporary with this prolonged revival, said, in 1832, that, "in the general amount of sanctifying influence, it surpassed all other experience of the American churches, before or since, unless we are to except the ever memorable experience of 1831."† . . .

It is sad to narrate that, during all these latter

* *Panoplist* (N. S., minor), i, 28-30, 34, 35, 63.

† *Letters on Revivals of Religion, Spirit of the Pilgrims*, v, 259. Of the revivals of 1826-35 the writer has the most vivid and delightful personal recollections; and anything more impressive and overpowering than were many of the scenes witnessed in the progress of those revivals has never since been experienced by him in a life extended to threescore and thirteen years, and cannot be conceived of this side of heaven.

days, when Divine influences were coming down upon New England "like rain upon the mown grass; as showers that water the earth," Boston, the very metropolis of New England, remained like the heath in the desert, a parched place in the wilderness—a salt land and not inhabited; because the people had forsaken the Lord, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water. Not once during the first eight or ten years of the nineteenth century was there a general revival of religion in Boston. And of the pastors of the nine Congregational churches in the town, probably not more than one or two had any desire that there should be a revival among the people. They had nearly all lapsed into Socinianism, Arianism, or Unitarianism; and so had their people generally. But among the laymen of the churches there were some on whom the Lord had set his mark, and who did sigh and cry over the condition of things in Boston; and about the year 1808, in furtherance of a reformation, they began to move towards the organization of another Congregational church, which should be thoroughly evangelical, and friendly to religious revivals. This movement culminated, finally, in the organization of nine brethren and twelve sisters into a new church, on the 27th of February, 1809, which is now known as Park Street Church. The organization took place in a private house on Beacon Hill; no Congregational meeting-house

in the town being opened to them, and no one of the churches taking any part in the services of the occasion. On the 31st of July, 1811, the church secured as a pastor that mighty man of God, Edward Dorr Griffin, at whose installation the Old South Church alone of the Boston churches was represented.

This was the beginning of a new era in Boston. Revivals of religion, such as had visited other towns in the State and country, began soon to bless this town; the effects of which were seen in the increased number and activity of professing Christians, and in the organization of new churches; so that, before another generation had passed away, Boston had eight new Congregational churches flourishing within its limits.

One most remarkable result of the general revivals of this period was the greatly increased interest of the churches in efforts to convert the world to Christ. It was said in 1809 that, within fourteen years of that time, as much had been done to promote evangelical missions as had been done in almost as many previous centuries.* Indeed, so great an interest was shown in the conversion of the whole world to Christ, that good men began to think that the day of millennial glory had actually dawned, and to say: Does not the dawn of this glorious day begin to appear?

* See *Panoplist* (N. S.), i, 568-62.

Does not the rising light betoken the near approach of the Sun of Righteousness? Do not the increasing exertions of the pious and charitable of all ages, descriptions and denominations, and the present shaking of the religious and moral world, announce the coming of the Desire of all nations in his kingdom?

The years 1811-14 were years of great political and general excitement throughout this country, particularly in New England; for, though war with Great Britain was not formally declared until June 19th, 1812, yet all through the previous year there were unfriendly and exasperating acts being done by England, and retaliated by our government, which kept the country in a state of excitement unfriendly to all special religious interest; and for three years there were fewer revivals of religion in New England than during any three previous years of this century. Nevertheless, there were some seasons of revival; the counties of Essex, Middlesex, Worcester and Berkshire, Massachusetts, being especially blest. In Williams College, too, nearly half of the students were hopefully converted at this time. There were some revivals in Vermont, also, including Middlebury College; and several hundred persons were added to the churches in that State. There was some special religious interest in New Hampshire, too. In the single town of Newport, it was thought that two hundred persons were converted in a short time. And Con-

necticut likewise reported some revivals in the course of these three comparatively barren years.*

Immediately following the declaration of peace, December 24th, 1814, we begin again to hear of religious awakenings; and for five years the good work was continued, until it had spread all over New England, to Long Island, to western New York, to Ohio, and to the Western country generally. Indeed, revivals of religion, some of extraordinary power, blessed the whole country from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. The General Association of Connecticut, at their meeting in 1816, thought that the year 1815 had been more distinguished in this country by revivals of religion than any former year within the memory of man. But the years which immediately followed this were perhaps quite as distinguished.†

A little volume published in 1819, at Albany, gives reports of about four hundred revivals which occurred in this country in the course of the years 1815-18—more than half of them in New Eng-

* *Panoplist* (N. S.), iv, 4, 11-16, 41, 89, 222, 390, 570; v, 86; *Vermont Evangelical Magazine*, iv, 310.

† *Minutes Gen'l Assoc. Conn.*, 1816, *Religious Intelligence*, i, 15, 31, 42, 48, 55-63, 72, 79, 382, 393, 431, 474-76, 588, 617; *Panoplist*, xii (1816), 140, 190-92, 242-43, 324, 380-82, 418, 467-71. I give these and other references in such detail, to save any one who may wish to investigate this interesting subject some of the toil to which I have had to submit in turning over, page by page, these voluminous periodicals, to learn their valuable contents.

land.* Vermont was particularly favored in 1816-17; six hundred persons being added to the Congregational churches of the Windham Association; while the Pawlet and Rutland Associations, embracing twenty-six churches, reported more than twelve hundred admissions to their churches during the same period; and this when the entire population of Rutland county was but thirty thousand souls. In about thirty towns in Massachusetts, the conversions in 1815-18 were reckoned at about four thousand souls; and in seventeen towns in New Hampshire, during the same period, the estimated conversions were about one thousand. In Connecticut, about one in six of all the towns were visited in 1815-16, "in an extraordinary manner;" and Rhode Island could report several revivals during these years of spiritual plenty.†

Revivals continued to bless different sections of New England all through the years 1820-23. In the course of two years (1820-22) they added to the churches in Connecticut more than three thousand communicants; and Vermont received nearly as large additions at the same time. Sixteen churches in Vermont reported more than twelve hundred additions during the year; twelve

* *Accounts of Religious Revivals, from 1816 to 1818.* By Joshua Bradley. 18mo, 300 pages.

† *Panoptist*, xii (1816), 140, 190-92, 242, 232, 371-74, 467; xiii (1817), 30, 94, 179, 236, 397, 414-17, 430, 520; xiv (1818), 47, 127, 377-80.

towns in another part of the State reported eight hundred additions; and still another small section of the State reported seven hundred additions to the churches for the same year.* In Hampshire and Hampden counties, Massachusetts, there were revivals which resulted in the hopeful conversion of seven or eight hundred souls; and one in Amherst College which seriously affected nearly every student. But what was more interesting to the Congregational churches than anything else was, that a revival of religion began in Boston and vicinity in the winter of 1822-23, and continued with gentle but steady power until midsummer, 1823; adding to the Congregational churches of Boston and Charlestown three hundred and forty-eight communicants.†

Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, all enjoyed revivals in 1823. Connecticut also came in for her full share of revival blessings during this year, and even Rhode Island was not left unvisited.‡

During this year of good things for the churches, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and the Southern and Western States were very generally visited with the special reviving influences of God's Spirit. The whole number of converts

* *Missionary Herald* (Nov., 1822), p. 365.

† *Missionary Herald* (1823), 198, 200; *Relig. Intell.*, viii, 28, 372, 574, x, 363-88; *Boston Recorder and Telegraph*, 1826.

‡ *Relig. Intell.*, viii, 429, 674-76.

during the year was estimated at more than twenty-six thousand — 26,764. Six colleges, five academies and many public schools were made partakers of these spiritual blessings.*

The years 1824-25 were rather noticeable for the quiet peacefulness of the churches than for any special religious activity; still there were some very interesting works of grace in New England. In Salem and vicinity, Massachusetts, there was a very unusual degree of religious interest, which gave to the churches of Salem two hundred and forty new members.

The Suffolk Association also enjoyed some revivals during these years. Three of our New England colleges were visited with revivals in the course of 1825-26 — Williams, Middlebury, and Vermont University; and in the spring of 1826 began a powerful work of grace in Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. This moved with irresistible force the entire body of students, and resulted in the hopeful conversion of many of them; and among these, some who had been the gayest and wildest and least hopeful students in the college. In the senior class, of thirty-six members, there were eight or ten hopeful conversions, leaving not more than three or four unconverted members in the class.† And this college

* *Relig. Intel.*, viii, 411, from *Boston Recorder*.

† The author of this history was a member of that class, and became a subject of this memorable work of grace. — G. B. J.

revival, like that at Middlebury, Vermont, was felt in all the region around for thirty or forty miles.

In May, 1827, it was said by well-informed parties: "Revivals seem to be increasing in number and power throughout our country. They exist at the present time in more than two hundred towns in the New England and Middle States, and in several places are attended with unusually great and blessed results." Among the colleges which shared in these blessings are Yale, Williams and Amherst.*

In a single group of twenty-two churches in Berkshire county, Massachusetts, seventeen hundred conversions were reported as the fruits of the revivals of 1826-27.

During the years 1827-30, though hardly counted as revival years in New England, there were revivals of marked power in several places; as, for example, in Woburn, Massachusetts, where, in the course of about a year previous to April, 1828, two hundred and forty persons were hope-fully converted in that small country town of less than two thousand inhabitants. In Hartford and Tolland counties, Connecticut, and in Bristol, Essex, Suffolk, Hampden and Hampshire counties, Massachusetts, there were revivals in 1828-29, some of which were extensive and powerful and distinguished for their comparatively long

* *Christian Spectator* (N. S.), i, 270, 334.

continuance. That at Woburn continued without interruption for about two years; that at Lowell, for four years, and resulted in the hopeful conversion of from four to six hundred souls; and that in Boston, for three years. There were also some revivals in Maine, in New Hampshire and Rhode Island in the course of those years.* There were also revivals in some of our colleges, as there had been from time to time for several years previous.†

But during these years the churches and the community at large were unusually interested in benevolent and Christian enterprises of all kinds; as Bible and tract distribution, missionary and Sunday school work, and most especially in temperance movements. All through New England the most active and successful efforts were made to suppress the traffic in spirituous liquors and the use of them as a beverage. Men, women and children by thousands and tens of thousands

* *Relig. Intell.*, xiv, 30, 244, 323, 334, 340, 351, 540, 551, 561, 713-15.

† It was stated by the best authority — the *Am. Quar. Rev.*, i, 193 — that in the course of the six years preceding January, 1829, about fifteen colleges and a large number of academies had enjoyed the reviving influences of the Spirit; and that not less than four hundred and fifty members of our colleges had been made the subjects of renewing grace within those years. At one institution sixty converts were the reported fruits of one revival, and at another, seventy of three successive revivals. Of these hundreds, four hundred at least were expected to become preachers of the gospel.

pledged themselves to total abstinence; grocers ceased to sell intoxicating liquors; many tavern-keepers banished them from their houses; villages and towns not a few became strictly temperate; and men began to say this temperance reform was like the work of John the Baptist, preparing the way for the coming of the Lord. And the wonderful and far-reaching religious revivals which followed in 1830-35 seemed to justify this comparison and expectation.

During the year 1830—about one hundred years from the commencement of the first Great Awakening in New England—began the second Great Awakening. Its first appearance was in western New York; thence it gradually spread into New England and over all the United States, moving the hearts of the people as the leaves of the forest are moved by the winds of heaven. This was the era of "protracted meetings," or "three days' meetings," as they were often called; and most efficient agencies they proved, especially in the country towns, calling together the people and the ministers from all the country around to the gospel feasts, as these occasions were termed. A generous hospitality bade everybody welcome, and scores of people were entertained for successive days, which were filled up with religious services from early morning till evening. And more solemn and impressive and joyful scenes than were many of these prolonged meetings cannot well be conceived of. Men and

Women of all ranks felt and acknowledged their power; and vast multitudes yielded their hearts to God, as the trophies of his grace; and among them an unusual proportion of educated and influential persons. Nearly or quite all our New England colleges were visited during this general awakening by the quickening and converting power of the Spirit; and some hundreds of students were hopefully renewed. In the course of six months prior to August, 1831, it was estimated that a thousand different congregations in the United States had been visited by the Spirit, and not less than fifty thousand persons had been converted.*

It might naturally be suspected that these protracted seasons of deep religious excitement would be attended with much that was objectionable. That they were in no instances justly exposed to criticism, is too much to assert. It is rare indeed that large bodies of men and women can become absorbingly interested in any subject and not do or say something which, in cooler moments, they themselves would condemn. But as for these protracted meetings, with which, as a pastor, I was familiar for successive years, and in scores of which I participated, it can be truthfully said that, as a rule, they were entirely unobjectionable in the doctrines and duties taught, and in the methods pursued. And how could it be other-

* *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, iv (1831), 405-416.

wise? They were conducted, not by professional evangelists from abroad, but by the pastors of neighboring churches, under the general direction of the pastor of the church which made the feast and entertained the attendant multitudes. The exercises were substantially the same in kind as every pastor was accustomed to hold with his own people in times of special religious interest — preaching, praying, exhortation, and meetings for inquiry. The essential difference between the exercises of these protracted meetings and the ordinary parish meeting was found in the word “protracted;” the praying and preaching and earnest exhortations were continued from day to day, without interruption, and religion was made the one thing needful, to the exclusion, as far as possible, of everything else. And, further, a variety of talents and gifts and experience was brought to contribute to the interest of these occasions, by calling together pastors from all neighboring churches.

Some of these meetings exceeded in power and efficacy anything ever before or since witnessed by the writer.* Great congregations were awed

* The author has known scores — perhaps hundreds — of persons who were awakened to a serious attention to their personal salvation by attending protracted meetings, and many of them intimately, and for many years, in health, and in sickness and death. And his unhesitating testimony is that as a whole, they have given as good evidence of conversion and genuine piety as any equal number of professors of religion awakened by any

and impressed and moved by the irresistible agency and the conscious presence of the Holy Spirit; and whole towns were shaken and awakened, and multitudes were truly and radically converted, if subsequent lives were sufficient evidence.

This great and good work continued with power for at least two years, and did not wholly cease for ten years, adding to the churches large numbers all over the country. The Congregational churches increased in number between 1829-32

other instrumentality. He has been called within a few months to mourn the loss of one of this number, a very old and esteemed friend, who, after an exemplary Christian life of almost fifty years, at the ripe age of fourscore years, was lately garnered as a shock of corn fully ripe. Fifty years ago he was an ambitious young lawyer in full and successful practice in a New Hampshire town. He was a thoroughly educated, sound, shrewd and energetic man, whose heart was set on the accumulation of a fortune, as the fruit of an industrious and honorable professional career, a man, to all human view, as little likely to be unduly moved by revival meetings and influences as any man in the community. But out of regard to his young pastor, who had committed himself — somewhat unwisely, as the lawyer thought — to the experiment of a protracted meeting in his parish, when first they began to be held in the State, this busy lawyer resolved to attend some of the early meetings of the occasion; saying, "Our minister is in for it, and we must help him out." This was the beginning; but the end was eternal life to that soul. He became deeply interested, an anxious inquirer, and a true convert, if a consistent Christian life, continued for nearly half a century from the day he thought he was born again, may be taken as a proof of his conversion.

There were other cases quite as marked as this, personally known to the writer, which illustrate the value of the protracted

at least two hundred and twenty, and their ministers about as many; while twenty-seven thousand communicants were added to our lists.

It will give the reader a general idea of the state of religious feeling which characterized the twenty-five years preceding 1840, to know that it was estimated by those who had given special attention to the subject, that the number of revivals enjoyed by all the evangelical churches of the country would average at least four hundred a year; adding yearly from forty to fifty thousand members to the churches.* And of these revivals

meetings of 1831-35. This has been taken as among the ripest fruit of that garnering season, and the last, perhaps, that I shall ever have occasion to notice this side the tomb.

[Mr. Punchard graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in 1829, and became pastor of the Congregational church at Plymouth, New Hampshire, March 11th, 1830. His pastoral continued fourteen years, and was greatly blessed. He was eminently successful in winning souls to Christ, more than one hundred converts being added to the church during the first two years of his ministry. His services at "protracted meetings" were in frequent requisition in the neighborhood of Plymouth, and, in fact, throughout that section of the State. Many are they who will remember, with everlasting joy, his tender, earnest, and faithful preaching on these occasions. In consequence of the failure of his health, and to the great sorrow of both pastor and people, in 1844 Mr. Punchard resigned his pastorate, and never after was able to resume his profession. The Providence which thus severed his connection with a single church rendered possible that protracted and important service for the Congregational churches of the land of which this *History* is the outcome, and which has never before been rendered.]

G B J]

* *Fisk's Hand-Book of Revivals*, p. 64—.

a fair proportion were among the Congregationalists, as were the converts.

In 1841-42 there were powerful revivals in some sections of New England; in the course of which it was estimated that the conversions in Boston alone must have numbered four thousand souls.

The Great Awakening of 1857-58, as it has been called, must be fresh in the memories and hearts of very many. During that period there were revivals in eighty-eight towns in Maine, forty towns in New Hampshire, thirty-nine in Vermont, one hundred and forty-seven in Massachusetts, thirty-six in Rhode Island, and a large number in Connecticut; and all through the South and West there were extensive revivals.*

Dr. Humphrey, one of the most cautious writers on revivals, in speaking of 1858, while deprecating the prevailing custom of proclaiming "sudden and surprising conversions," and the too common practice of hasty admissions to the churches, still says, "The work is glorious, and has brought a rich revenue of praise to the Redeemer;" and adds: "Perhaps the number of the truly regenerated has been larger in the last year [1858] than in any former year." †

The *Congregational Year-Book* for 1859 fur-

* *Great Awakening of 1857-58*, by William Conant, pp. 378, 420-35.

† *Revival Sketches*, by Rev. Heman Humphrey, pp. 263-84.

nishes a list—confessedly very incomplete—of one hundred and thirty-four revivals in Congregational churches in twelve different States and Territories during the year preceding—Massachusetts and Connecticut leading the list, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan and New York following next; and in this are notices of revivals in Amherst, Dartmouth, Middlebury and Yale Colleges.

From 1861 to 1864, the country was absorbed in the Secession War, and the work of the Spirit of God in converting men was not very manifest, though there were local revivals of interest in some towns in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont. In 1865–67, however, revivals of considerable extent were enjoyed in some sections of the country; and the work continued with greater or less power to 1870. The effect of the revivals from 1867 to 1869 on the Congregational churches appears in the reported increase of our churches from twenty-three hundred and fifteen in 1857 to twenty-five hundred and eighty-three in 1860—a net gain of two hundred and sixty-eight churches in four years; while the number of our church members rose from two hundred and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and thirty-two to two hundred and fifty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty-five—a net gain of over twenty-nine thousand communicants; which was but little more than one third of the actual additions to our churches during those years. During the four years of the war

gained only one hundred and thirteen churches and seven thousand six hundred and fifteen church members — not an average of three new members to a church the country over. In 1865-70, six years, we gained three hundred and ninety-eight churches and forty-three thousand church members, though the whole number added to our churches was more than one hundred and forty-nine thousand.*

Perhaps the annual reports of the American Home Missionary Society for the past ten or fifteen years furnish us satisfactory and reliable pictures of the religious condition of Congregationalism in the United States as can be obtained from any one source.

This great national society was formed in 1826 by a union of Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed home missionary societies, to do the common work of these evangelical associations; and it continued its beneficent union work until about 1862-64, when the Presbyterians finally withdrew entirely from the society, that they might more efficiently do their own purely denominational work. This withdrawal of funds and coöperation from the American Home Missionary Society left more than seven hundred missionaries then on the society's list, and more than fourteen hundred congregations, to be supported

* See Statistical Summaries of Cong'l Churches for the years 1867-78, in the *Cong'l Year-Book*, 1879.

and directed by the Congregationalists alone. It was a great burden—suddenly thrown upon them—to do alone the work of three denominations. But Congregationalists are not unaccustomed to liberal giving and grave responsibilities; and bravely accepted the burden and responsibility thrown upon them. The receipts fell off about forty thousand dollars in the years 1862 and 1863; but then they began to rise; and in 1865-66 they were more than two hundred and twenty-one thousand dollars, or twenty-seven thousand six hundred dollars more than the society ever received in a single year previous. From 1863 to 1877, both years included, the receipts averaged yearly two hundred and fifty thousand four hundred dollars; producing an aggregate, for fifteen years, of three million seven hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars. Thus thoroughly have the Congregationalists adopted this great national society as their own; and the work which it has done the last fifteen years has been emphatically for Christ and Congregationalism.

And now let us see what its reports for these past fifteen years tell us of our religious history.

This Society has now nearly a thousand missionaries under its care—996 in 1878. This is about forty per cent. of all the Congregational ministers in pastoral work in the United States. And these missionaries are distributed over thirty-two States and Territories, are the pastors of twelve hundred churches, and the teachers of two

thousand two hundred and thirty-seven congregations and missionary districts. Now, as the whole number of Congregational churches in the United States was but three thousand six hundred and twenty in 1878, these missionaries have charge of just one third of all our churches, or nearly one half of all the churches which had ministerial supplies in 1878—2,716; and if we add to the missionary churches the congregations to which they preach in which there is no church organization, we shall see that our home missionaries are preaching habitually to two thousand two hundred and thirty-seven congregations—which is four hundred and seventy-nine only less than the number of churches in the land which have pastors or stated supplies.

This being the state of the case, it is apparent that the *Reports* of the American Home Missionary Society must furnish a very reliable index to the state of the Congregational churches of this country; and now let us see what these tell us of the work of God in our churches for some ten years last passed. We have before us the record for all the time the society has been a Congregational institution, but will omit the years already noticed. In 1870 the revivals reported by the society's missionaries were seventy-three, the conversions three thousand four hundred and seventy, and the additions to the churches six thousand four hundred. The report for 1871 is ninety revivals, twenty-nine hundred conversions, and

fifty-eight hundred additions to the churches. In 1872 the fire is still burning, and increasing in intensity: one hundred and ten revivals, thirty-five hundred conversions, and sixty-three hundred additions to the missionary churches is the record for the year. In 1873 there was some falling off: ninety revivals, twenty-nine hundred conversions, and fifty-seven hundred additions to the churches is the record. But in 1874 we find the tide of religious prosperity rising again. One hundred and five missionaries make mention of revivals during the year, and thirty-two hundred conversions were among the fruits; and the churches received fifty-four hundred additions. In 1875 the tide was still rising; one hundred and forty-three missionaries reported revivals during the year; and the number of hopeful conversions was set down at thirty-four hundred and forty, and the additions to the churches at sixty-three hundred and sixty-one. Yet higher does the tide of religious prosperity rise in 1876, when two hundred and two missionaries had occasion to report revivals in their several parishes; while the conversions of the year are set down at sixty-two hundred and ninety-seven, and the additions to the churches at more than seventy-eight hundred. In 1877 there was some falling off in figures, though they were still large. During the year, one hundred and eighty-one missionaries reported revivals among their people; while the number of conversions reported was nearly fifty-

four hundred—5,394; and the additions to the churches a little over eight thousand—8,065. In 1878 a considerable fall in the temperature is indicated by the figures reported: ninety-nine revivals, forty-five hundred and seventy-two conversions, and seventy-five hundred and seventy-eight additions to the churches.

These figures indicate the religious state of our churches for the past ten years—the rise and fall and general fluctuations of religious feeling—as accurately as any language could. They are like the figures on the barometer and thermometer, which tell, as no individual experience can, the state of the atmosphere. And though these reports are from only a third of the ministers and churches of the denomination, yet they are from so large a number, and from so large a portion of the States and Territories, that they give us a fair representation of the religious state of Congregationalism during the years reviewed. And they show us that the great tidal wave of revival influence which began to flow over this country near the close of the eighteenth century, and continued ebbing and flowing, but never subsiding, and often developing overwhelming power, through the first half of the nineteenth century, has continued on through the third quarter of the century, and into the last quarter, with unabated strength; and it is the glory of evangelical Congregationalism, that it has ever welcomed and rejoiced in these “times of refreshing from

the presence of the Lord," in which churches have lived and grown and flourished, from the day of Pentecost to the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty.

It is interesting and instructive to notice that nearly or quite every period of general religious awakening in New England — and the same is true of other sections of the country — has had its peculiar characteristics, while the objects sought and the results reached have been the very same in all — "diversities of operations," but "the same God which worketh all in all."

For many years after the first settlement of this country, the pastors and elders of the churches were expected, each in their own fields, to do the work of stirring up the people to take hold on God. It was by preaching and catechising and visiting from house to house that the officers of each church sought to awaken a religious interest among their own people. There was very little coöperative labor among the ministers. Every man was expected to confine his work to his own vineyard. But after awhile, some interchange of ministerial services began to be practised, and ministers visited each other's parishes and preached occasional discourses to them, in order to awaken religious interest; and next, it became a practice not uncommon for ministers, either by agreement among themselves or by appointment of their respective Associations, to go forth, two or more together, to visit the churches within an appointed

circuit, in order to awaken religious interest among the people. This practice reached down to as late a period as 1820.*

This course of procedure doubtless made way for the extensive employment of professional evangelists, who were very common during the first quarter of the present century, and indeed have been employed by the churches, more or less, from Whitefield's days to the present time; though not without considerable hesitation on the part of many churches and ministers, and even under protest by some.

Some periods of revival have been distinguished by the prevalence of prayer meetings; not that preaching has been neglected, but that special prominence has been given to prayer: as, for example, in the great revivals with which this century opened, most of which were preceded and attended by special seasons of prayer, as was the Day of Pentecost. And so it was in the wonderful work which began about 1857.

The period of general revival which commenced about 1829-30 was marked by the almost universal employment of protracted meetings to awaken the religious sensibilities of the people. Though these were new to this generation, they were not very unlike those revival means which were employed by the Connecticut ministers early in the

* See Yale's *Life of Jeremiah Hallock*, 110, 116, 124, 173, 236,

century, when two, four or five ministers would travel from town to town within the bounds of their Association, and hold special religious services with the people. The revivals of the past twenty years have perhaps been distinguished by the prominence of lay agency in them; though as far back as the days of Edwards—say, 1730—50—and we know not how much earlier, there are records of revivals of religion which were the fruits, mainly, of lay efforts. In the early part of this century there were several pious and intelligent laymen in Connecticut, who travelled together from town to town, to hold protracted prayer and conference meetings; and to whose judicious and earnest labors revivals in scores of places were directly traceable.* The evangelistic work of the Young Men's Christian Associations is but an enlargement of this same lay itineracy of former days; and the labors of distinguished lay evangelists, who of late have been visiting various sections of the country and of Great Britain, preaching with great power and effect to immense congregations, are in the same general line of Christian work, with certain modifications and attractions designed to awaken more thoroughly the attention of the communities which they visit—chiefly large towns and cities.

* The *Life of Jeremiah Hallock* furnishes many illustrations of the variety of means employed in his day to promote religious revivals, from about 1790 to 1831. See also Dr. Porter's *Letters on Revivals*, in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*.

In regard to all lay agencies in promoting religion, every judicious minister and Christian must be ready to say, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them." The chief danger is that some self-appointed lay-evangelists may run before they are sent; and that thoughtless people may conclude from the temporary success which these men — comparatively "unlearned and ignorant men" — have in awakening religious attention, that nothing but piety and zeal and fluency are needed in a religious teacher.

This brief and summary notice of the more prominent religious awakenings with which New England has been favored from its first settlement to the present day goes to prove that Congregationalists as a body have always valued and honored such seasons; and not only this, but that the life and progress of the denomination has synchronized with these divine visitations.

Men may say that the churches should not depend on these special visitations for their prosperity, but should so live as to enjoy the constant presence of the Holy Spirit in his convicting, converting and sanctifying power; in other words, in a constant revival. Granted; and what then? Has any body of Christians ever lived thus in this wicked world for any great length of time? Did even the apostolic church long sustain that revival state of which we read

in the second chapter of The Acts — when they that gladly received the apostle's words, after the outpouring of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost, were baptized and added in large numbers to the church, and continued steadfast in the apostle's doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers, praising God, and having favor with all the people, while God added to the church daily such as should be saved? or has any church, since that great and notable day of the Lord, been found for any very prolonged time in what may be termed a revival state? Surely not. But all history goes to demonstrate the proposition that no church has ever yet lived and grown and prospered without special visitations from the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father sends in the name of his dear Son to convince the world of sin, of righteousness and of judgment to come, and who will take of the things of Christ and show them unto his disciples.

CHAPTER XIV.

REVIVALS IN COLLEGES—ORGANIZATION OF BENEVOLENT AND RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

AND now, just here, before we close this rapid survey of the work of revivals in the Congregational parishes of New England, we must glance at the work of regeneration which has been going on during all these years in the Congregational colleges of New England. For obvious reasons our notices must be confined to the older and larger of our colleges, leaving the reader to judge of the whole from the few examples given. This special notice of college revivals is chiefly necessary and important because these institutions owe their existence more to the desire of the churches to secure a succession of well-educated, pious ministers, than to any other cause. This was true of Cambridge College; and the fact that the devout Shepard was minister of the place had probably much to do with locating the college. His ministry was eminently spiritual; his people lived in a continuous revival. "He scarce ever preached a sermon but some or other of his congregation were struck with great distress of soul, and cried out aloud in agony, 'What shall I do to be saved?'" And Mr. Mitchell, who succeeded Mr. Shepard in 1650, was scarcely less

powerful and awakening in his ministry than his predecessor.* Mr. Gookin, Mr. Brattle and Mr. Appleton, the successors, in order, of Mr. Mitchell, seem to have been men of thoroughly evangelical views; and the last-named bore testimony, in July, 1748, to the power and genuine nature of the Great Awakening, saying, "From what I have heard, and from what I have seen, . . . more especially in my own flock, I can testify that there has been, in some of the years past, a religious concern among people of all ages, but more especially of the younger sort, that has been extraordinary, . . . and that greater numbers than usual have had gracious, saving impressions made upon their souls; which is to be acknowledged, to the glory of God's rich and free grace."†

Whitefield preached twice at Cambridge, "the chief college," as he says, "for training up the sons of the prophets, in all New England;" once in the college yard, with particular application to the students. Of this occasion he says, "I believe there were seven thousand hearers. The Holy Spirit melted many hearts. The word was attended with a manifest power." But the work of declension from evangelical doctrines and practice was even then quite manifest in the college, and was noticed by Whitefield. And there was

* *Christian History*, i, 216, 217.

† *Ib.*, i, 191.

soon manifest so much hostility to Whitefield, that Mr. Appleton did not venture to invite him to repeat his visit to Cambridge; and on the 1st of January, 1745, at a meeting of the Association, Mr. Appleton applied to his brethren for advice relating to a request by a number of his congregation, that he would invite the Rev. George Whitefield to preach in Cambridge; and it was unanimously voted, "that it is not advisable, under the present situation of things, that the Rev. Mr. Appleton invite the Rev. Mr. Whitefield to preach in Cambridge." * The explanation of this is to be found in the attitude of opposition "against the Rev. George Whitefield and his conduct," and his intemperate followers, which the Faculty of Harvard College had felt called on to announce, on the 28th of December, 1744.† Yet, there is reason to believe that the President, Hulyoke, and Professor Wigglesworth were evangelical Christians, and were ready to rejoice in the revival of God's work in the college. For Hulyoke, in his Convention sermon, preached in May, 1741, eight months after Whitefield's first arrival in New England, while admitting that the evident power of religion had greatly decayed among them, yet speaks most kindly of "those two pious and valuable men of God" [Whitefield and Tennent] who had been laboring among the people, and had been "greatly instrumental in the hands

* Tracy's *Great Awakening*, p. 346.† *Ib.*, 347.

of God to revive this blessed work; and many, no doubt, have been savingly converted from the error of their ways, many more have been convicted, and all have been in some measure roused from their lethargy." *

If the president here refers particularly to the college, this would certainly indicate there was something like a revival among the students and others about that time; but if it was so, it was probably among the last seasons of religious awakening which the college ever had. Not that there have been no individual conversions at Harvard — there have doubtless been many, including some who have been among the most devout, useful and learned evangelical ministers of this country. But there has not been, for more than a century, any such general and simultaneous attention to personal religion in Harvard College as has been often witnessed in other colleges. Still, Harvard has furnished a very large number of ministers to the churches. According to Professor Tyler's count, "more than half of the graduates of Harvard College, for the first sixty years of its existence, became ministers of the gospel;" † that is, the college furnished, in sixty-five years, two hundred and fifty-six ministers. At the close of the first century of its existence,

* *Great Awakening*, 351.

† *Prayer for Colleges*, a Premium Essay, by Rev W. S. Tyler, D.D., p. 112.

it had furnished the churches with more than six hundred ministers; and in two hundred and twenty-seven years it had furnished sixteen hundred and twenty-six ministers, or about one in seven of all its graduates from 1642 to 1869, both included.

Yale College was founded by the Connecticut ministers, with precisely the same end in view which the founders of Cambridge College had — Christ and his church; and at a very early date it was required of the officers of this college that they should give satisfaction to the trustees of their soundness in the faith, in opposition to everything dangerous to the purity and peace of the churches. There was considerable religious interest among the students of this college during the "Great Awakening" in 1740-45; but it was not until after Dr. Dwight took the presidency, in 1795, that the more special manifestations of the Spirit were witnessed in the college. In the spring and summer of 1802 there was a revival of such power as was never before experienced in that institution. It came, as an eye-witness describes it, like a mighty, rushing wind, shaking the whole college, and moving the entire body of students by an irresistible power.

In 1808-09 there was almost a continuous revival in Yale College. In 1818, in 1820 and in 1828 there was special religious interest; and in 1830 there was a powerful and extensive revival among the students. And so it has continued to

be from time to time through its entire history. In the course of about twenty-five years it enjoyed thirteen special visitations of the Spirit; and in the course of ninety-six years the college had experienced twenty seasons of "refreshing from the Lord," resulting in the hopeful conversion of about five hundred students. Of the eighty-one hundred and four graduates up to 1871, nearly one fourth of them (2,001) became ministers.

Dartmouth College was founded in 1770, by the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, a distinguished Connecticut pastor and revivalist. He left his parish, for Hanover, in the midst of a revival; and immediately on getting his school and his large family settled in the wilderness, the Spirit of God visited them—or rather, manifested his special presence. Four years later, in 1775, the school enjoyed another gracious visitation; and in 1781-82, still another, of uncommon power and efficacy, adding above eighty persons connected with the college and the surrounding families to the church. A fourth revival, and one of great interest, was experienced in 1788; a fifth, in 1805; in 1815, one that resulted in the hopeful conversion of sixty students in the course of one month.

There were revivals in 1819 and in 1821; and one of great power in 1826. The entire body of the students seemed moved as by a common impulse, and without the use of any special outward

appliances; and a very considerable number gave evidence of a radical change of heart and life. In the senior class of that year, which numbered not over thirty-six, eleven of whom were professors of religion when the work began, there were ten hopeful conversions.*

Dr. Bennet Tyler was the president of the college at the time this revival occurred. It surrounded him with an atmosphere most congenial to his warm heart and noble Christian nature. In it he lived and moved and breathed as in his native air. It made him a Bonnerges—a son of thunder—in preaching to impenitent men; and a son of consolation to the anxious and sorrowful inquirer after life eternal.

* There are but few persons now living who participated in the joys of this college revival of 1820; and one who did, may be allowed to put on record his deep sense of obligation to God and good men for his experience at that time; to which he attributes the beginning of all the Christian hopes and comforts which have sustained him through a long life and now cheer his closing years. It was a short work, but one of extraordinary power, solemnity and efficiency. It took hold of some of the best minds in college, as well as some of the most thoughtless and least likely to be affected. Among the young men who received impressions in that revival was one whose subsequent ambitious life and eminently successful political career—in the course of which he reached the highest office but one in the gift of the nation—that of the chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States—did not and could not entirely efface. Salmon P. Chase owed to the revival in Dartmouth College, in 1820, much of that sobriety of thought, that purity of life, that unwavering integrity in office, and that generally Christian character, which distinguished him through his long and active life, and sustained him in sickness and the hour of death.

In 1831 another revival was experienced; and so from that time to the present day the good work has gone on from time to time in this college. In the course of sixty-five years Dartmouth enjoyed at least nine seasons of special religious interest among its students; and of the three thousand six hundred and seventy-three graduates of the first one hundred years of its existence, nine hundred and five became ministers of the gospel; about twenty became presidents, and more than fifty professors, in colleges and theological seminaries.*

Williams College, Massachusetts, another Congregational institution, received its charter in 1793. During its earliest years, there was no special religious interest among the students; but in 1805-06, a revival of great interest was experienced. Those eminent saints and missionaries, Samuel J. Mills, James Richards and Gordon Hall, were then in college, and Hall was one of the converts. In 1811-12, the college was again visited by the Spirit, and among other evidences of his power was the sudden conversion of a strong-minded and bold deist, Charles Jenkins, who afterwards became the devoted and distinguished pastor of the Third Congregational Church in Portland, Maine. In 1815, and again in 1819, there were special visitations of the Spirit to the college. During Dr. Griffin's

* *Am. Quar. Reg.*, ix, 177-82; xiii, 119; *Triennial*, 1870.

presidency, 1821-36, the college was repeatedly visited with the reviving influences of the Spirit. In one of these visitations, William Hervey was converted. He devoted his life to foreign missions, and died a missionary in India, leaving it to be said by the historian of the college that he was a man "who, for simplicity and purity of heart and life, and devotion to the great interests of the missionary work, has had few superiors." * In 1838 there was a greater degree of religious interest in the college than had been witnessed for seven years. In 1840 another season of unusual religious interest was experienced; and from that year to the present there have been repeated seasons of special religious awakening among the students of this college.

As early as 1785, the people of Vermont—largely New England Congregationalists—showed their interest in collegiate learning by making a grant of twenty-four thousand acres of land to Dartmouth College, which is just across the line of the State; and as soon as Vermont was admitted to the Union, in 1791, her legislature passed an act to establish a State University. But the movements of the government being unnecessarily slow in putting the university into working order, the people of Middlebury, some thirty-five miles distant from Burlington, erected a building,

* *Revivals of Religion in Williams College*, by Prof. Albert Hopkins, in *Am. Quar. Reg.*, xiii, pp. 341-61, 461-74.

procured books, appointed a teacher, and, in 1797, obtained a charter for Addison County Grammar School, which three years later (in 1800) was incorporated as Middlebury College.

"The foundation of Middlebury College was laid in prayer, . . . and a very large proportion of its graduates have entered the field of missionary and ministerial labor." * From the year 1805-06 the college began to enjoy religious revivals. In 1809, and again in 1811, and 1812, and 1814, there were seasons of special religious interest in the college. In the three last mentioned, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, two of our early and most useful missionaries to Palestine, were co-laborers. Parsons was himself revived, and re-consecrated himself to the work of God in the revival of 1811. Both of these excellent men were graduates in 1814. In 1816, and in 1821, and again in 1825-26, and 1831, there were seasons of special religious interest in Middlebury. Nearly or quite every student was awakened to a special interest in religion in the revival of 1831, which seems to have been greatly promoted by a "protracted meeting" which was held in the spring of that year. Every member of the senior class but one was enrolled on the Lord's side before commencement.

And so it continued to be with the college, year after year, until 1835, when it had experienced,

* Rev. President Bates, in *Am. Quar. Rev.*, xii, 306.

since its foundation, no less than ten distinct revivals. Among the fruits of these revivals was that most eloquent and distinguished preacher, Sylvester Larned.

The subsequent history of Middlebury College has been in keeping with its first thirty-five years. In 1859 more than one half of all its students were professors of religion, and nearly three fifths of these were preparing for the ministry; and the percentage of ministers to her graduates for fifty years—from 1816 to 1866—stands second among the Congregational colleges of New England—being forty-two per cent.; exceeded only by Amherst, which has furnished forty-six per cent. of her graduates to the ministry.*

Marietta College, Ohio, has exceeded even Amherst; for, out of the first one hundred and thirteen graduates, sixty-five became ministers; and Illinois College has done nearly as well; ninety-four of its first graduates having furnished forty-five ministers; while Wabash College, Indiana, has exceeded them all in the proportion of its ministers to its graduates; the first sixty-five graduates furnishing forty-five ministers.†

Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, Maine, incorporated in 1794, though a State institution, was erected in answer to the petition of the ministers of Cumberland county, presented in 1788, to

* *Cong'l Quar.*, XII, 567-68.

† *Prayer for Colleges*, 112-13.

"promote virtue and piety, and the knowledge of the languages and of the useful and liberal arts and sciences." But it was eight years before the college could be got into working order, which, with its subsequent success, was largely owing to individual efforts — efforts of such men as the Rev. Joseph McKeen, its first president, appointed in 1801; its first professor of languages, John Abbot, 1802; and its second president, the Rev. Jesse Appleton, an accomplished scholar and divine of the Congregational order, appointed in 1807.

The early years of this college were not marked by any special religious interest among the students; and as late as 1813 we find in President Appleton's private journal an entry to this effect: "We have recently admitted one pious student, and hope for another. O Lord, how much does he need Divine support!" * Three years later, in 1816, a deep religious interest pervaded the college, and the president had the pleasure of recording the fact that "a third of the students, or very nearly that proportion, are now hoped to be pious." Since that joyful year the college has been repeatedly visited by special Divine influences, which have been manifested by many hopeful conversions.

Amherst College, the youngest of the Congregational colleges of New England, was organized

* *Am. Quar. Reg.*, VIII, 116.

As a collegiate institution in 1821, but did not receive a charter until February, 1825. The institution originated with "a considerable number of warm-hearted Christians" in the western part of Massachusetts, who were anxious "to bring forward pious, indigent young men for the ministry; and to aid them in their classical as well as theological education." * The first revival in this institution occurred in 1823, when it had but ninety students, fifty of whom were hopefully pious. Of the remainder, about twenty were subjects of this revival. In 1827 occurred another and very powerful revival, in which thirty students were thought to have "passed from death to life." In the year following (1828) there was more than usual religious interest in the college, which resulted in the apparent conversion of fourteen students. This gave the college one hundred and sixty hopefully pious young men out of two hundred and nine then members of college. The year 1831 was emphatically a revival year among colleges; from twelve to fifteen being visited, and from three to four hundred students being the subjects of these visitations of Divine grace. Amherst came in for her full share of blessings. In the course of three or four weeks nearly thirty of her students expressed the belief that they were converted. Another revival, in 1835, added

* President Humphrey's account of "Revivals of Religion in Amherst College" — *Am. Quar. Rev.*, xi, 317—.

to the number of hopefully pious in the college about twenty souls. And so the good work went on, year after year, until 1889, when President Humphrey could say: "No class has ever yet passed through college, and graduated, without witnessing at least one revival, and sharing in its blessings." * Of the whole number of the alumni at that date — five hundred and fifty-six — more than half were either ministers or preparing for the ministry, and twenty had gone abroad as foreign missionaries.† And this religious tone — so to speak — has been maintained at Amherst ever since. In 1852 the college had one hundred and eighty-seven students, of whom one hundred and thirteen were professors of religion, and seventy-seven were preparing for the ministry. In 1859 the college had two hundred and fifty-eight students, one hundred and sixty-six of whom were professors of religion, and eighty-four of whom were preparing for the ministry.‡ In 1878, out of twenty-three hundred and ninety-eight alumni, eight hundred and ninety-seven had been ministers of the gospel; and ninety-seven, foreign missionaries.

What has now been said of the religious char-

* *Am. Quar. Reg.*, xi, 327.

† Vol. xiii of *Am. Quar. Reg.*, p. 221, gives the number of graduates during eighteen years at six hundred and fourteen, and of ministers at two hundred and eight.

‡ *Prayer for Colleges*, by Prof. Tylor, of Amherst, pp. 196, 227.

acter of the Congregational colleges of New England is quite as true and descriptive of the character of our Western colleges. They have, without an exception, been founded by religious persons, for religious ends, and they have religiously answered the ends for which they were formed. Many of them have far outrun their New England prototypes in the amount and continuance of religious influence on the students. It would be little else than writing over the history of these Eastern colleges, to attempt to give the religious history and life of Illinois College, of Oberlin, of Beloit, of Iowa, of Olivet, of Wheaton, Ripon, Carleton, Tabor, or almost any one of all the twenty and more collegiate institutions which the piety of our churches has founded and nurtured during the last half century.

A recent writer on American Colleges, who has given this subject very careful attention,* says: "In many of the Western colleges revivals occur as regularly as the coming of the winter; and, considered as a whole, about one half of their students become Christians during the four years of the college course. This is especially true in regard to Oberlin and Iowa Colleges. At Marietta and Ripon, about one third of the students are converted in the four years. It is very diffi-

* *American Colleges, their Students and Work*, by Charles F. Thwing, p. 65. 16mo, 159 pages. N. Y., 1879.

cult, as one of its former students remarked, to graduate at Iowa College without becoming a Christian; and the case is very similar in many of the eminently Christian colleges of the West."

It would be unphilosophical and unreasonable to expect anything materially different from such results, when the prayers and tears and self-consecration and self-denial of the founders of these colleges are considered. When we see a little company of Christian men kneeling upon the snows of a primeval forest, and dedicating the site of a Christian college, ought we not to expect that consecration to be accepted and honored of God—as was Wabash College? When we find devout men emigrating to distant portions of our country, and selecting and purchasing uninhabited townships, and giving their personal labor, their property—everything they possess, to establish and build up a Christian college in a Christian community—as was done at Oberlin, and Tabor, and Berea, and I know not how many other places at the West and South—when we see such devotion to the cause of Christian education, what else could be reasonably expected but the smiles of Heaven on their undertakings?

That our Christian colleges are truly what they were designed to be, is still more evident from the fact that they are the resort of religious young men, and that revivals abound in them in greater number and with more frequency and power than in any other communities. Thus,

the ratio of pious young men in Western Reserve College has varied, for successive years, from two thirds to four fifths of the whole number of students. In Wabash College, of five hundred and seventy-one students who were connected with the institution during the first fifteen years of its existence, two hundred and twenty were hopefully pious. Of the one hundred graduates of Marietta College between 1835-48, eighty-three were hopefully pious; and in Knox College, out of fifty-two students in the collegiate department, thirty-eight were professors of religion. In estimating the value of an educated Christian, his capacity and opportunity to do good must be taken into the account. Thus, it has been estimated that the ministers raised up by one revival in Yale College were instrumental of the conversion of fifty thousand souls in a single generation.*

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

Revivals must be estimated by their fruits; not simply by the number of converts made, nor by the improvement of individual Christians solely, but by their permanent effects on whole communities and the world at large. The convert dies and is soon forgotten; and the personal influence of the most devoted Christian is confined ordinarily within a narrow circle, and is quite limited in duration.

* *Prayer for Colleges*, 110, 137.

But it is otherwise with the benevolent and Christian organizations and institutions which spring up from a soil watered by the Spirit of God; for in them is continuance, and they are for the good of men in all subsequent ages. Among these enduring good fruits of the revivals in New England and America generally, may be classed Bible, tract, missionary and education societies, and institutions for collegiate and theological learning, together with other organizations of a less general, but yet of a highly valuable and enduring influence on local communities.

Now, it is quite apparent from our church history that the broad and deep stream of revival influences which has flowed through this land — with temporary interruptions only — for two and a half centuries has been quite like that river of water of life which John saw proceeding out of the throne of God and the Lamb, on either side of which was there the tree of life, which bore twelve manner of fruits and yielded her fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. These revival influences, besides purifying and improving individuals and whole communities, multiplying converts as drops of dew, and greatly increasing the number and efficiency of Christian churches, have really given life and prosperity to the great religious institutions and enterprises designed to benefit the world, and which are the glory of this age of the church.

The reorganization, by Boston gentlemen, of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and its incorporation by the legislature of Massachusetts in November, 1787, was one of the first fruits of the revivals which followed the Revolutionary War. The special object of this society was the Christianization of the Indians. Collections were taken up in all the Congregational churches of Massachusetts; and in 1806 the society had seven missionaries among the Indians and in destitute White settlements, who were organizing schools and churches, and distributing Bibles and Testaments and tracts and psalm-books, and spelling-books and other useful reading, wherever they could.*

In 1794 the General Association of Connecticut began its systematic efforts to supply the new settlements of the North and West with preachers of the gospel. These efforts ripened into a missionary society in 1798, designed — as its constitution expressed it — “to Christianize the heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements within the United States.”†

The missionaries supported by this society were

* See *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine*, III, 305-400; *Am. Quar. Rep.*, v, 210-14; *Life and Times of Backus*, 293-00, 280-93; *Hist. Baptists*, chap. xi; *Conn. Evang. Mag.*, I, 247, 311, *Humphreys's Revival Sketches*.

† *Theological Magazine*, III, 223-37; *N. Y. Miss. Mag.*, I, 166-87; III, 241-48.

soon found in Vermont, in western New York, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and all the Western Territories, as far and as fast as settlements were made. And in January, 1800, the trustees of this society say that, during the years 1798-99, the Holy Spirit had been poured out in copious effusions on many places where their missionaries had been laboring: and that there had been a more general revival of religion than had been known in this country for half a century.*

In November, 1796, the New York Missionary Society was organized, "to send the gospel to the frontier settlements and among the Indian tribes;" a movement which was followed by the organization, in January, 1797, of the Northern Missionary Society in the State of New York, embracing evangelical Christians of different denominations. Though these two societies were outside of New England, they were societies in which the Congregationalists took an interest.

Following these societies came into existence, in 1798, the Berkshire Missionary Society, in the county of Berkshire, Massachusetts, and Columbia county, which joins it, in New York.† The Massachusetts Missionary Society followed next in order of organization. May 28th, 1799, "for the spread of the knowledge of the glorious

* *N. Y. Miss. Mag.*, i, 179—.

† *Theo. Mag.*, iii, 280-73; *N. Y. Miss. Mag.*, i, 89-100, iii, 401-06.

gospel of Christ among the poor heathens, and in those remote parts of our country in which the inhabitants do not enjoy the benefit of a Christian ministry and Christian ordinances." Their first missionaries were sent into the new settlements along the Genesee river, New York, and to the Indians in that vicinity; and also into Maine and Vermont.*

In September, 1801, the New Hampshire Missionary Society was organized at Hopkinton, and began immediately to send its missionaries into the new settlements of that State, and into northern New York.†

There arose about this time (1802) a humble but very efficient agency in the support of missions. It was known as the Cent Institution.‡ Every member pledged herself — for the membership was confined to females — to pay just one cent a week towards the support of home missions. These associations spread rapidly over the entire State, and soon over all New England; and their half-penny contributions amounted to four or five hundred dollars annually — a very consid-

* *N. Y. Miss. Mag.*, i, 434-40; ii, 261-68. The Rev. Adoniram Judson, father of the Rev. A. Judson, Jr., was one of the very first missionaries appointed by the Massachusetts Missionary Society.

† *Piscataqua Magazine*, ii, 164-68.

‡ *Mass. Miss. Mag.*, ii, 41-42. One of these institutions was in active operation in the author's parish in New Hampshire as lately as 1830-35.

erable sum for those days of small things — besides interesting a very large number of persons, many of them in very humble circumstances, in the work of missions.

Another remote but very interesting fruit of these New England revivals was the formation of the Congregational Society of the State of South Carolina for Promoting the Interests of Religion, by distributing Bibles and other books of practical piety amongst the poor, and in sending missionaries to such parts of South Carolina, or elsewhere, as were destitute of ministers and of the means of supporting them. The constitution of this society was "ratified and confirmed in the Independent Church in Meeting Street, Charleston, South Carolina," February 10th, 1802.*

The organization, about this same time, of societies of women, to relieve the distresses of their own sex, and to promote knowledge, virtue and happiness among women especially, and "the diffusion of gospel light among the shades of darkness and superstition," was another of the special fruits of these New England revivals. The Boston Female Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge was organized as early as 1800.†

In September, 1803, the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was formed

* *Mass. Miss. Mag.*, ii., 149-53.

† *N. Y. Miss. Mag.*, ii., 379.

after the model of the ancient society of the same name which was formed in London in 1698.*

As early as 1804, the Rhode Island Missionary Society was organized for home evangelization: and in April, 1804, we find consociations in western Vermont and adjacent towns in New York coöperating vigorously in the work of missions in the new settlements around them.†

In March, 1804, an education society was formed at Pawlet, western Vermont, called the Evangelical Society, "to aid pious and ingenious young men in indigent circumstances to acquire education for the work of the gospel ministry;" and it is specially recorded that "the recent revivals of religion in that quarter led to the establishment of this benevolent institution."‡

Another of the signs of these times was the establishment of a social prayer and conference meeting in the Old South Church, Boston—something entirely new to the generation then on the stage of action. On the 13th of March, 1804, eight brethren of that church formed themselves into a society for religious improvement, and invited their pastor, Dr. Eckley, to preside at their meetings; this was the more necessary, because there was at that time but one brother in the church imbued with sufficient confidence to lead in social prayer.§

* *Mass. Mus. Mag.*, v, 388. † *Ib.*, iv, 113-18. ‡ *Ib.*, iv, 355.

§ *Wiser's History of the Old South Church.*

The Piscataqua Missionary Society was formed by the Congregational ministers of the Piscataqua Association, eastern New Hampshire, in 1804, and began its missionary work at once.*

In 1802 the Hampshire Missionary Society, in Massachusetts, was instituted to aid the destitute towns in that county, and those of the adjoining large county of Berkshire, which at that time were lamentably destitute of religious institutions.

In the course of the same year (1807) the Vermont Missionary Society was organized; and so was the Evangelical Missionary Society, by delegates from the large counties of Worcester and Middlesex. And about the same time other local missionary societies may have been formed which have not been mentioned; for, in October, 1807, the editors of the *Religious Repository* said: "We recollect eleven or twelve societies within the United States, for the propagation of the gospel in the new American settlements." †

In 1808 the General Convention of the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers of Vermont, "viewing the dispersion of cheap religious tracts one of the most effectual methods of disseminating evangelical truth," recommended the formation of a Vermont Religious Tract Society,

* *Piscataqua Evangelical Magazine*, i, iv, 8, 116-20.

† *Religious Repository*, published by the New Hampshire Missionary Society, i, 29, note.

which recommendation the Missionary Society adopted.*

The next year, 1809, the Connecticut Bible Society was formed, and, soon after, the Massachusetts Bible Society; and in 1810, the Merri-mack Bible Society, at Newburyport.†

All these various religious societies had in view the spread of the gospel by means of preaching and other suitable instrumentalities. But all this awakened interest in the conversion of men — all this zeal to have all men know that "whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" — brought home to the churches the great significance of the inquiries: "How shall they call on Him on whom they have not believed?" and "How shall they hear without a preacher?" and "How shall they preach except they be sent?" These questions led to the establishment, in 1807-10, of two institutions which have done more to fulfill the ascending commission of Christ to his church — "that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem" — than any two (we might almost say, than all other) agencies which, up to that time, had been devised by the New England churches. Refer-

* *The Adviser, or Vermont Evangelical Magazine*, 1809, vol. 1, 68—.

† *Panoptist* (N. S.), 11, 40—, 91, 419-24.

ence, of course, is made to a theological school for the thorough education of ministers for the home field and for foreign missionary service, and to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; both of them children of the Congregational churches, and the glory of New England intelligence and piety, and fruits of the blessed revivals of their time.

In 1807 the legislature of Massachusetts enlarged the power of the trustees of Phillips Andover Academy — the oldest incorporated academy in the United States — to receive, purchase and hold real and personal estate, the annual income of which should not exceed five thousand dollars, with a view to the establishment of a theological seminary, in connection with the academy. In 1808 the constitution of the school was settled; and Phebe Phillips, widow of Lieutenant-Governor Phillips, and her son, John Phillips, obligated themselves to erect and finish two buildings for the use of the school. Samuel Abbott, of Andover, gave twenty thousand dollars to found a professorship of Christian Theology and for the support of students in theology; and then Moses Brown and William Bartlet, both of Newburyport, and John Norris, of Salem, gave ten thousand dollars each, towards the support of two more professors in the seminary, to which benefaction Mr. Bartlet subsequently added ten thousand dollars more, making the fund forty thousand dollars; and on the 28th of Septem-

ber, 1808, the Theological Institution in Andover was opened with appropriate ceremonies.*

This was the first institution of the kind ever established in this country, and, so far as is known, in any part of modern Christendom. The call for such an institution, and its great utility, may be estimated by the number of young men who immediately began to resort to it for instruction of the most thorough kind.

The number connected with the seminary during the first ten years of its existence (1809-18) was one hundred and ninety-six; during the second ten years, four hundred and thirty; the third ten years, five hundred and thirty-four. Between 1839 and 1848 there was a falling off of students to four hundred and forty, and between 1848 and 1857 to four hundred and thirty-three. This may be accounted for by the fact that theological seminaries or departments in colleges had been established all over the country, and were drawing students to them; as at Oberlin, Cincinnati, Hartford, New York City, and Chicago — all between 1833 and 1858 — and others whose influence was less, but yet appreciable. Still, at the close of the first half-century of the seminary's existence, the catalogues show that two thousand and eighty-eight persons had been connected with it. If we add to these the number of students who had been

* See *Holmes' Annals*, II, 433; *Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the Theological Seminary at Andover*, pp. 89-96.

members of the seminary from 1858 to 1878, both years included — namely, eight hundred and sixty-six — we have an aggregate of very nearly three thousand persons — 2,954.*

Of this whole number, perhaps three fourths have become parish ministers. Of the two thousand and eighty-eight members of the seminary during the first fifty years, about three hundred became home missionaries; and one hundred and thirty-four, foreign missionaries. Supposing the same ratio for the past twenty years, we shall have four hundred and twenty home missionaries and about one hundred and eighty-five foreign missionaries from the seminary in seventy years' operations.

Besides parish ministers and home and foreign missionaries, this seminary furnished, during fifty years, at least one hundred and thirty professors for other theological seminaries and colleges, and twenty-six presidents of colleges. This is certainly a goodly showing for the venerable mother of American theological seminaries; without taking into account the scores of secretaries and agents of benevolent societies, and the many editors of newspapers and periodicals, and the physicians, and even the lawyers and merchants who have been educated by its teachers; all, we may reasonably conclude, doing such work for

* *Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Theological Seminary at Andover, 1859.*

the Master as they could not have done without the mental discipline and the thorough instruction which has ever been furnished at this ancient school of the prophets.

On the 29th of June, 1810, the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, at their annual meeting in Bradford, organized the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Though the idea of such an institution had long occupied the minds of good men in this community, prior to 1810, it might not have ripened into an organized body for years, had not four young men from Andover Theological Seminary presented their memorial to the Association, to be sent as missionaries to some pagan country. They had long been consecrated to this work; but how could they go unless the churches would send them? The names attached to this memorial were Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Samuel J. Mills and Samuel Newell—three Samuels. The names of Luther Rice and James Richards were also signed to the paper originally, but were stricken off at the suggestion of one of their most zealous friends, lest the Association should be alarmed by the number of applicants; for what could the infant society do with even four missionaries? In fear and trembling, however, they were accepted by the Board, and preparations were begun for their early departure. But it was a gigantic undertaking. It would require six hundred and sixty-six

dollars to equip and send out one couple; and a year's salary would amount to as much more. Nevertheless, the Board was driven to undertake the work, and that immediately; for, added to the impatience of the missionaries to be about their Master's work, a war with England was anticipated. Just at this juncture, two vessels were found preparing to sail for India — a rare occurrence at that time — which would take the missionaries: the "Caravan," from Salem, Massachusetts, and the "Harmony," from Philadelphia. When this decision was reached, the Board had but about twelve hundred dollars within its control; but the public announcement of the fact acted like an electric shock on our churches, and before the ships were ready to sail, the treasury of the society was filled and overrunning — six thousand dollars coming in within a few weeks.

What a contrast do the years 1812 and 1879 furnish in the foreign missionary work! Four missionaries and their wives starting out on an unexplored and uncertain field of labor; carrying with them nearly every dollar that the society possessed, and that only a stinted support for a single year in a foreign and unfriendly region — this is the picture of 1812. Well might it be said that these good men and women went forth weeping, bearing precious seed; supported only by the Divine promise that "they that sow in tears shall reap in joy."

And now, in the year of our Lord 1879, what is the fruit of that handful of seed? Instead of four missionaries to be sent, the Board reports having sent out five hundred and fifty ordained missionaries and two hundred and fifty unmarried missionaries, who have succeeded in organizing three hundred and fifty native churches, with about eighty thousand church members; and it has now under its direction fifteen hundred and sixty-seven missionaries and native assistants, male and female. It has established forty-eight different missions: fifteen among the Indians of North America, and thirty-three in foreign lands. The entire receipts of the first year of its existence, 1811, amounted to nine hundred and ninety-nine dollars and fifty-two cents; while the receipts for 1860 were a little less than four hundred and thirty thousand dollars; from all sources, amounting in the course of fifty years to more than eight millions six hundred thousand dollars; while the average yearly receipts for the last nineteen years have been sufficient to bring up the total receipts from the beginning to about seventeen million dollars.

Its missionaries have reduced to writing twenty-six different languages, while they have printed books and other publications in forty-six different languages; have had under instruction more than four hundred thousand pupils in their schools, and have exerted an influence over one hundred millions of the human race.

One of the early devices of an awakened church to do good and communicate the blessings of the gospel to men was the distribution of religious tracts and books. The work was begun at an early period. Years before the formation of any society for the purpose of supplying these publications, we find in the *New York Missionary Magazine* for 1802 a long and able address to Christians, "on the distribution of cheap religious tracts;" and it was intimated that the formation of a society to collect, print and distribute small religious tracts to subscribers, on the lowest terms, was contemplated.*

It was not, however, until 1814 that the New England Tract Society was formed in Boston, for the express purpose of furnishing religious tracts, at the lowest rate, to the various tract and moral societies in different parts of New England, which made the distribution of tracts a prominent part of their work. The call for such an organization is evinced by the immediate demand for its publications; for in May, 1814, the executive committee could report that they had already been able to print three hundred thousand tracts, of fifty different kinds, at the moderate cost of three thousand dollars.†

In 1815 a private meeting was held in the study of the Rev. Mr. Huntington, pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, which resulted in the

* Vol. III, 361-372.

† *Pioneer*, x, 332-34.

formation of the American Education Society, August 29th of the same year — the charter being secured in December, 1816 — having for its object the education of indigent young men, of suitable character, for the Christian ministry. From that humble beginning, this society has grown until able to help some three hundred or more young men at a time through their entire course; and in all, has thus aided more than six thousand men into the ministry.*

It is but another link in the golden chain of kindred associations to advance the cause of Christ in all the world: Christian colleges and theological schools, home and foreign missionary societies, Bible and tract societies, an education society to provide the men to do the work of these benevolent societies, and to help them to prepare for this Christian work.

Within a few years the American Education Society has become united with the College Society, whose special work it is to help young colleges to funds; and we have now the two kindred

* This was not a new idea, nor was this a new kind of society; for as early as March 6th, 1804, a number of ministers of Pawlet Association met at Pawlet, in the southwestern part of Vermont, and bound themselves by constitutional regulations which they then adopted, "for the express purpose of aiding pious and needy young men of promising talents, in acquiring education for the work of the gospel ministry. The society soon became respectably numerous;" and by May, 1814, the society had assisted twenty-three young men into the ministry — *Panoplist*, x (1814), 237-39.

societies united under the title of "The American College and Education Society." *

Previous to 1816, Bible societies had been formed all over the country, and at that date had distributed, as was estimated, one hundred and fifty thousand Bibles; and yet it was estimated that not less than seventy-eight thousand families in the Southern and Western States and Territories were destitute of the Bible.†

This known destitution led to the formation of the American Bible Society, to act on the whole country.‡ This was done on the 8th of May,

* Dr. Tarbox, in *Cyclopædia of Education*.

† *Relig. Intel.*, 1, 256, 260—.

The interest felt in New England in the circulation of the Scriptures was shown in 1806, by the collection of from \$2,000 to \$4,000, to aid the English Baptist missionaries in India to translate the Scriptures into the languages of India. This was done on the recommendation of the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers — *Mass. Miss. Mag.*, 17, 26, 238. Of the local Bible Societies in this country, the earliest seems to have been that formed in Philadelphia, December 12th, 1808. Immediately following this, in May, 1809, the Connecticut Bible Society was formed. — *Panoplist* (N. S.), 1, 562. In July (6-13th), 1809, the Massachusetts Bible Society was formed in Boston — *Panoplist* (N. S.), 11, 40, 45, 91. In 1810 the Merrimack Bible Society was formed at Newburyport. — *Panoplist* (N. S.), 11, 419-24. In 1810 the Bible Society of Salem and vicinity, Massachusetts, was formed. The same year a Bible Society was organized in Charleston, South Carolina, and a Bible and Prayer Book Society in New York. — *Panoplist* (N. S.), 111, 233, 234.

‡ *Relig. Intel.*, 1, 8-13, 107, 179.

The whole number of Bible Societies in the United States at that time is estimated to have been from one hundred and thirteen to one hundred and fifty.

1816, by delegates from thirty-five local societies — five of which were New England societies — who met for the purpose in the city of New York.

It was not the destitution alone that prompted the formation of this national Bible society, but the felt necessity for an institution which should be able to furnish Bibles in sufficient number, and at the lowest possible price. The want of Bibles had been felt for many years in the country — so much so that Congress voted, in 1777, to print thirty thousand copies; and when this was found impracticable, for the want of paper and types, it then ordered the importation of twenty thousand from Europe; and when this was prevented by the embargo, Congress finally fell back on a recommendation, in 1782, of the private enterprise of Robert Aitken, of Philadelphia; but the cost of these books, and the slowness of the manufacture of them, made this source of supply unavailable for the purposes of a Bible society; and the various State and local societies could only supply their personal demands, and at comparatively great expense. So, if they would have cheap Bibles in abundance, the organization of a great central establishment, where they could be multiplied indefinitely and rapidly and at the smallest cost, became indispensable.

The American Bible Society was not a Congregational or New England institution; for all the local societies in the country — a hundred and

more in number — felt the want of such an institution. Yet the denomination was forward to organize it, and that devoted New England Christian, Samuel J. Mills, had been urging this step upon the friends of the Bible some time before the society was formed.*

Its formation, too, it should be noted, followed that memorable revival year, 1815, which was declared to be "more distinguished in this country by revivals of religion than any former year within the memory of man." †

In the organization of all these benevolent and religious institutions, Congregationalists were among the foremost and most active parties, if not absolutely the sole parties concerned — as they actually were in most of them; and, furthermore, every one of these associations for the moral and religious improvement of men may be fairly attributed to the revival influences which, during the period now under review, came down upon this country like showers that water the earth and cause it to bring forth and bud. These societies may certainly be regarded as among the fruits of righteousness which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God.

The doubter may say, these and kindred associations came into being on the recognized prin-

* *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*, Am. Quar. Rev., 11, 30.

† *Minutes of Conn. Gen. Assoc.*, 1816.

ciple of demand and supply. Men felt the need of such associations, and so they were formed. But how came men just at that particular time to feel this need? It had always been as real as it was between 1787 and 1816, and yet it had never been felt and realized as at that time, nor had the hearts of men been turned to meet the want as they then were. What stirred the hearts of those ministers at Bradford to form the American Board? Why, to be sure, those young men from Andover Seminary, who wished to go as missionaries to the heathen. But what stirred them up to think and pray over this subject until the desire to preach the gospel to the heathen was like a fire in their bones? Nothing—nothing small nor great—but the Spirit of God.

We have now glanced over the fields which God ripened for the harvest in our country during the latter years of the past century and the early years of the present, and considered the part which Congregationalists of this country acted in these eventful years; and it may be left to any Christian man to say whether it was not a part which glorified God, as well as honored themselves. And it will not militate at all against the claim of Congregationalists to have it said that they were not alone in the good work of founding institutions of learning and benevolence and religion. We have no disposition to deny that other daughters have done vir-

tuously, nor need we insist that we have excelled them all; we only assert—and it is glory enough—that this denomination of Christians have been ever the active and efficient friends of learning, of revivals of religion, and of all those great benevolent and evangelical associations which have blessed the church and world for generations, and will continue to bless it in all coming time. This is enough to establish our claim to the kindly regard of all who love our Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth, and who wait for his appearing; to whom be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen and amen.

NOTE. Thus devoutly did Mr. Punchard bring to an end what he supposed would prove to be the closing chapter of this history. Not that all the topics embraced in his original plan had received treatment; nor that all the material collected had been used; nor yet that he considered the remaining subjects less germane to his theme, or less worthy of presentation, than those already presented, but only because he supposed space would be wanting for a single additional chapter in this, his fifth and final volume. But the extreme brevity of treatment of some topics included in the preceding volume—a brevity which he reluctantly accepted as an unavoidable evil—is found to leave room for the introduction of a portion, at least, of other matter which he had mostly prepared for the press, but which—not without many regrets—he had concluded must fail of publication.

Accordingly, I shall add some chapters of this rejected material, being fully persuaded that, thereby, the value of this volume will be much enhanced; and, consequently, that such an addition will be welcomed by every reader.—G. B. J.

CHAPTER XV.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF UNITARIANISM IN MASSACHUSETTS,
1785-1800.

IT was about 1785 that the first open avowal of Unitarianism was made by a religious society in Massachusetts. This was made by the Rev. Mr. Freeman and his people, of King's Chapel, Boston, an Episcopal chapel, which was used by the royal governors and officials, and other loyalists, until the evacuation of the city, in 1776; when the rector and many of his congregation fled the country. For about five years the chapel, a fine stone building, was used by the Old South congregation, while their house was undergoing repairs, it having been nearly ruined by the English soldiers, who used it as a riding-school. On the retirement of the Old South people to their own meeting-house, a small remnant of the chapel congregation rallied, and made arrangements to have Episcopal services in their house; and, being unable to obtain a rector to their liking, they engaged Mr. James Freeman as a reader. He was an Unitarian; and after using the Church of England liturgy for some three years, he succeeded in substituting a revised liturgy, from which every recognition of the Trinity was carefully excluded. This service-book resembled Dr.

Samuel Clarke's, of England, and was "perfectly Unitarian." Thus Mr. Freeman and his people became the first avowed Unitarian parish in America. After this, Mr. Freeman found it impossible to obtain Episcopal ordination, and so had to content himself with the laying on of the hands of the wardens of his parish instead of a bishop's.*

The English Unitarians were greatly interested and encouraged by this movement in Boston; and as a further means of diffusing their views in this country, Mr. Lindsey, one of their most distinguished preachers and writers (1723-1808), made a present of his own and of Dr. Priestley's theological works to the library of Harvard College; for which, "as a very valuable and acceptable present," he received the thanks of the President and Fellows. "These books," we are told, "were read with great avidity by the students." But "though there is great reason to believe that the seed thus sown took deep root, and that in many instances it produced an abundant harvest; and though many persons eminent for rank and talent in the New England States openly avowed the Unitarian creed, it does not appear that any numerous societies of Christians

*See *American Unitarianism, or A Brief History of the Progress and Present State of the Unitarian Churches in America*. By Rev. Thomas Belsham, Essex Street, London. Boston printed by Nathaniel Willis, No. 76 State Street, 1815. 8vo, 48 pp.

have hitherto [in 1788] followed the example of the congregation at the King's Chapel, in making a public profession of the Unitarian doctrine." *

But though there was no avowed and organized Unitarianism in Massachusetts before 1788, yet anti-Calvinistic and anti-Trinitarian sentiments can be traced back to a much earlier date, even to some of the very first settlers in this colony. William Pynchon, who came over in 1630, and was one of the founders of the town and church of Roxbury, who, also, was the treasurer of the colony, and one of the principal men in settling Springfield, published an elaborate work in 1650, entitled, *The Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, etc., Clearing it from some Common Errors*. In this he denied the doctrine of Imputation, and — if we understand his position — the vicarious nature and design of Christ's sufferings. He called those sufferings "but trials of his obedience." Contrasting the views of his brethren with his own, Mr. Pynchon said: "They place the price of our redemption in his suffering God's wrath for us in the full weight and measure, as it is due to our sins by the curse of the Law. I place the price of our Redemption in the merit of his mediatorial obedience, whereof his mediatorial sacrifice of Atonement was the Masterpiece."

The General Court regarded this treatise so

* *American Unitarianism*, pp. 16-16.

erroneous and dangerous that they appointed one of the foremost ministers of the colony, Rev. John Norton, to answer and refute it; while the book itself was ordered to be publicly burned. Norton, in his reply, says to Pyncheon: "It is very true that the mediatorial obedience of Christ is the meritorious and full price of redemption; but most untrue in the sense of your mediatorial obedience; for you leave out and reject from thence Christ's obedience to the law of works as God-man, his judicial bearing of sin, his suffering the punishment due for sin, in way of satisfaction to Divine Justice, and all this as the surety of the elect."

Mr. Pyncheon was summoned before the General Court, and "labored with" by that august body; and turned over to the elders, to be convinced of his heresy. But, though the offender made some slight concessions, yet he seems to have retained substantially his peculiar views to the end. He left New England in the autumn of 1652, and spent the remainder of his life at Wraisbury, England, where he died, in October, 1662, aged seventy-two years. Pyncheon was a man of high reputation as a citizen and a magistrate in Massachusetts; and was, evidently, a man of learning and ability.* He replied to Nor-

* I have relied chiefly on *Felt* for my account of Pyncheon — *Exc. Hist. N. E.*, ii, 30, 43-45, 64, 66, 67, 68, 206; *Farmer's Reg.*; *Allen's Dict.* Pyncheon's standing in the Colony may be seen by

ton twice after going to England, and published other works which proved him an accomplished scholar and an able writer. Mr. Pyncheon's son-in-law, Captain Smith, and his pastor, the Rev. George Moxon, went with him to England, and there remained. Whether they sympathized in his peculiar views, we do not know, though it is quite probable that they did. It is certain that a brother-in-law of Pyncheon, Edward Holyoke, of Springfield, previously of Lynn, did sympathize in these views; for in 1658 he published in London "a learned and able work" on "Man's Redemption" and various collateral subjects, in which work some of his views are found to be accordant with Mr. Pyncheon's.*

It was not, however, until after Arminian and Arian views began to spread among the English Dissenters, between whom and the New England divines and leading men there was much sympathy and correspondence and reciprocal influence, that these opinions made much progress in this country.

Arminianism, Arianism, Socinianism and Unitarianism were embraced and preached and published in England freely and extensively, and by men of learning, ability and influence, during

the frequent reference to him in *Winthrop's Journal*, i. 12, et passim, ii. 325, 384—. Baylies calls Pyncheon "a gentleman of extensive learning and acquirements."—*Mem. Plym. Col.*, i. 202; "a man of extraordinary learning."—*Ib.*, 318

* *Felt*, ii. 205; *Prince Library*, Holyoke.

the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century; and their writings found many readers and admirers in New England. The learned Daniel Whitby (1688-1726), first an Arminian in some of his views, and afterwards an Arian, published his *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* in 1700. It was a very popular work, and new editions were called for from year to year, as long as the author lived, and long after his death. The ninth edition was published in 1761. This commentary—which was pronounced by Doddridge “preferable to any other, on account of [the author’s] learning and judicious notes;” and by Bishop Watson, “the best commentary we have in our language” *—found its way, with other writings of the learned author, to New England, and exerted no inconsiderable influence on the minds of our clergy. The writings of the celebrated and learned English Arian, the Rev. Thomas Emlyn (1668-1743), were also circulated and admired in New England; particularly *An Humble Inquiry into the Scriptural Account of Jesus Christ*, first published about 1702; for which there was sufficient call to justify the re-

* *Allibone, sub. nom.* Even when Dr Edwards (early in 1754) wrote his wonderful essay on the Freedom of the Will, with special reference to the refutation of Whitby’s views, he carefully avoided calling Whitby an “Arminian;” but simply says that, in his views of the freedom of the will, he agrees with the Arminians.— See preface to *Freedom of the Will*.

publication of essential portions of the work in Boston, in 1756, with a recommendatory introduction by a Boston layman, "G. T." Emlyn was at first a High Arian, and believed that Jesus Christ was an exalted and glorious being, essentially distinct from the Father, the first and noblest of God's creatures, but not divine. Dr. Samuel Clarke's *Paraphrase on the Four Gospels*, first published in 1701-02, and often reprinted, and his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, first published in 1712, and which led to long-continued controversy, were also among the early publications which sowed Arian notions in New England, and greatly encouraged anti-Trinitarian sentiments. Clarke, in addition to his very profound learning, which secured universal respect, taught a scheme of doctrine, specious, and peculiarly dangerous, because so nearly Trinitarian that to adopt it was an unsuspected first step toward Unitarianism. "He regarded the Son and Holy Spirit as emanations from the Father, endowed by him with every attribute of Deity, self-existence alone excepted." * Taylor's writings, and the controversy which they provoked, tended still further to spread Arianism over the country; and Arianism led men gradually down to mere Humanitarianism.

The writings of Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich,

* *Albion* has an extended and very excellent notice of Dr. Clarke's works.

England (1694-1761), particularly his treatise on *The Scriptural Doctrine of Original Sin*, attracted so much attention in this country, that the profound Dr. Jonathan Edwards, seeing "the great corruption of doctrine in New England, in consequence of Dr. Taylor's writings," felt called on to examine it and refute its doctrine; which he did in his great work entitled, *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended*; and so thoroughly did Edwards do his work, that even Dr. Taylor himself is said to have acknowledged himself defeated.* And it was in refutation of Whitby's Arminian views, which were gaining much favor in New England, that Dr. Edwards wrote, in 1754, his immortal work, entitled, *A careful and strict Enquiry into the modern prevailing Notions of that Freedom of Will which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame*; † which Dr. Jamieson says "is universally acknowledged to be one of the greatest efforts of human intellect."

That the leaven of Arminianism and even Arianism had begun to work in the New England churches as early as 1722, is certainly suggested by Dr. Cotton Mather's convention sermon of that date. In that discourse, the good man holds the

* Allibone, arts. Taylor and Edwards.

† Allibone devotes three and a half of his capacious columns to Edwards, and does him ample justice.

following language: "For ministers to have this recommended unto them — that they should not preach much about the person of Christ! I am surprised! I am ashamed! . . . It is to be suspected that the loss of these glorious truths — if they must be lost — will be very much owing to an over-great value for such books as have been very much in vogue among us; books whereof it may be complained: *Nomen Christi non est ibi* [the name of Christ is not in them], and the religion of a regenerate mind is not there to be met withal; books which, if our young men will read, they ought also to read the just castigations which Dr. Edwards, in his *Preacher*, has bestowed upon them." *

There may have been little or no avowed Arianism or even Arminianism among the New England churches and clergy at that time. Dr. Joseph S. Clark, a very competent authority, says: "Not a church nor a minister throughout the State had yet [1720-30] avowed an Arminian tenet, nor renounced an article of the Calvinistic creed. Dead Orthodoxy was the prevailing religion of the period now under review." † This may have been strictly true so far as any avowal was concerned, and yet, a careful reading of the

* See Dr. Gillett's valuable résumé of the Unitarian Controversy, in *The Historical Magazine*, vol. ix, second series, pp. 321-324.

† *Hist. Congl Churches of Mass.*, pp. 139-44.

history of this period, and of that which immediately followed it, forces the conviction on one that this "dead Orthodoxy" was the first fruits of the Arminian and Arian seed which had been previously sown here, largely by foreign hands; that the writings of Whitby and Taylor and Clarke and Emlyn, and kindred spirits, had indeed materially encouraged doubters, strengthened latent disbelief of Calvinism, and helped to reconcile the faith and practice of men who had ceased to feel and live as though the essential doctrines of the fathers were vital truths.

As early as 1757 there were Massachusetts ministers who, though not forward to confess their departure from the Orthodox faith, were yet settled in their disbelief of the Trinity and of Calvinism generally. One of these was the Rev. John Rogers, son of the Rev. John Rogers, of Boxford, a graduate of Harvard in 1732, and settled as the first pastor at Leominster, September 14th, 1743. He was a man of considerable ability as a preacher and writer, and of great firmness of character and general frankness. For a number of years he sustained the reputation of Orthodoxy; but after awhile, some of his people began to suspect that he was not perfectly sound in his doctrinal views; and about 1757, these suspicions were so far confirmed that the church was constrained to make several distinct charges against him, of doctrinal unsoundness;

and he was requested to submit the question to a mutual council. But this, Mr. Rogers resolutely refused to do; whereupon, the church called a large *ex-parte* council of neighboring churches. Fourteen pastors and twenty-six delegates—for the churches were not limited, as in our day, to a single lay delegate each—responded to this call; and after careful investigation, found, first: "That the Rev. Mr. Rogers did not hold or believe the essential Divinity of Christ as it is revealed in the Divine Word;" second: "That he denies the doctrine of Original Sin; both the imputation of the guilt, and the corruption of our nature;" third: "With regard to the doctrine of Regeneration, it is evident to this council . . . that the Rev. Mr. Rogers hath vented and propagated an unsound and unscriptural notion of it; and as to the doctrine of Conversion, as Mr. Rogers distinguisheth it from Regeneration, he evidently appears confused and unintelligible;" fourth: "Furthermore, we think . . . that Mr. Rogers hath cast most indecent and unchristian reflections on the Shorter Catechism of the venerable Assembly of Divines at Westminster." This was summarily the result of this large council.

The council, nevertheless, recommended to the church to wait awhile before proceeding further, in the hope of a satisfactory adjustment of their difficulties without dismissing their pastor. This the church consented to do; but after waiting

some five or six months, and having the further advice of council — Mr. Rogers showing no disposition to modify his views or to conciliate his disaffected parishioners — the church and the town of Leominster at length voted, on the 28th of January, 1758: "That Mr. Rogers be dismissed from his pastoral office."

This vote seems to have been quite unexpected, and very offensive to the pastor. He was not disposed to yield his position as pastor of the church and minister of the town of Leominster, either to the advice of a council or the vote of his people. And, being supported by a minority of his parishioners, and having an iron will of his own, and withal priding himself on the martyr-blood which ran in his veins, he resolved to fight it out to the last, against church and council, parish and town; and this he did, remaining in the town and drawing a party around him, greatly to his own discomfort and to the disturbance of the peace of the town. Neither gentle nor conciliatory himself, he had to bear pretty rough usage from his opponents.

Mr. Rogers did not complain that his sentiments were misunderstood, or that the charges against him were untrue; but he did complain bitterly that he should be made a victim, when the council which advised his dismissal — "some of them, and not a few" — thought as he did "on those very doctrines which they pronounce so fatal;" and which they called upon him, "in the

pitiful tones of children, to renounce." . . . "I differ," he says, "from them in nothing, without it is in frankly declaring what I do believe. Their opinions are like mine." *

Mr. Rogers published, in 1756, four sermons; three of them together, in a duodecimo volume of sixty-one pages. They are all "occasional" sermons, and abound in warnings to the vicious, and exhortations to repentance and reformation. The nearest approach to an expression of his doctrinal views in these sermons is found in the following paragraph from his Fast sermon, 1755: "Wherefore let compassion, as well as the fear of God and love to ourselves, persuade us to depart from iniquity — to hate it, and love righteousness. Let us, I say, live by the faith of the Son of God, the Prince of our Salvation, to whom 'all power, both in heaven and earth, is committed;' whose righteous sceptre is over all kingdoms of the world; whom the very angels worship; and who, in the name of the Father, will reward all intelligent creatures according to their works."

* See Mr. Rogers' letter to his people, in arrest of their act of dismission. It is pretty decided and sharp, yet withal rather touching. He says: "As for recanting my opinions, Christian friends, I cannot do it. God and my conscience would both condemn me. . . . I lament to be cut off from you. I am poor, and know not where to go. My little ones cry around me for bread." — *Centennial Discourse delivered in Leominster, September 24, 1843*, by Rufus P. Stebbins, minister of the First Congregational Society in Leominster. Boston: 1843. To this discourse, and the valuable appendix, I am indebted for most of the details given in the text.

If this is a fair sample of his doctrinal preaching, it is not strange that his parishioners were slow to detect his anti-Trinitarian views.

Among the neighboring ministers supposed to be in sympathy with Mr. Rogers, were Rev. Messrs. Mellen, of Sterling, and Harrington, of Lancaster. Mellen is credited with saying of Rogers' course, in openly admitting his Unitarian and Arminian views: "Mr. Rogers is an indiscreet man, and is at least fifty years too early in preaching such doctrines from the pulpit." *

The Rev. John Mellen was a man of culture and ability, ranking high as a scholar and a preacher, but not very decided in his doctrinal views, or outspoken; as is evident from the remark made by him, as well as from a volume of sermons published by him in 1765, in which he endeavors to follow "a middle course between the opposite extremes of Calvin and Arminius." But, worldly-wise and cautious as he was, Mr. Mellen finally got involved in a controversy with his people on doctrinal and ecclesiastical points, which resulted in his dismissal, after a settlement of thirty-four years from December, 1744.

The Rev. Mr. Goss, of Bolton, Mr. Fuller, of Princeton, and Mr. Morse, of Boylston, neighboring ministers, were all involved in the same controversy with their respective churches, and

* *Stebbins' Centennial Discourse*, 86-87.

were compelled to leave them about the same time for like reasons. The Rev. Mr. Harrington, of Lancaster, and the Rev. Mr. Adams, of Lunenburg, alone, of this entire association of ministers, were able to ride out the storm and retain their positions. The truth seems to be, that these neighboring ministers of the old Marlborough Association, in the northwestern part of Worcester county, were nearly all "liberalized" beyond the convictions of their churches—at least, of the majority of their church members; though none of them were clear enough in their views, or bold enough, to confess themselves Arminians or anti-Trinitarians, except Rogers of Leominster. But the controversy which finally unsettled all but two of them was not wholly doctrinal—perhaps not chiefly so. There had crept into the heads of these respectable old divines a notion—by no means new among ministers, but very foreign and abhorrent to Congregationalism—that a minister was something more than a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ to a particular church of Christ.* They

* It is stated in the records of the Lancaster church, that "Father Harrington claimed for himself to be equal to one half of his church. Yes, a little more than equal; for when they had passed a vote, he claimed the right to veto it and set it aside; and that would make him a majority of the whole!"—Rev. E. H. Sears, at the *Lancaster Second Centennial Celebration*, p. 153.

My authorities for the statements in the text about Rogers and the other ministers mentioned, are chiefly *Allen's History of*

approved of their votes. The congregational church was ever to such an assumption of controversy probably had as little to do with these divines as their

In addition to everything else, the ministers, Goss and Morse, were without a lack of patriotism — an anachronism of those days. Goss appeared to be an enough-going Tory, as was seen when he fled to Annapolis, Nova Scotia, during the Revolutionary War.

The history of this minister is pretty conclusively that he was not a Tory. He was current in Massachusetts in the middle of the last century.

Another of the more prominent Unitarianists, if not anti-Trinitarian, is under review — from about 1800 to 1850. The eloquent and celebrated Henry Ware, pastor of the West

June 17th, 1747, to the time of his death, July 9th, 1766, at the age of forty-five years. This was the reputation which he bore among his contemporaries; though, from most of his published sermons, one would hesitate to regard him as anything worse than a somewhat bitter anti-Calvinist.* The elder President Adams, writing to Dr. Morse, in 1815, says: "Sixty-five years ago, my own minister, Rev. Lemuel Bryant [of Braintree], Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, of the West Church, in Boston, Rev. Mr. Shute, of Hingham, Rev. John Brown, of Cohasset, and, perhaps equal to all, if not above all, Rev. Mr. Gay, of Hingham, were Unitarians." And Dr. Mayhew's biographer claims for him the honor of having been "the first clergyman in New England who expressly and openly opposed the scholastic doctrine of the Trinity;" and for his church, the credit of having been "the first in New England

*I say this, after having looked over some twenty of his published sermons, and, above all, his violent, abusive letter to Rev. John Cleaveland, of Essex. Mr. Cleaveland published a condemnatory review of the Doctor's sermon "On the Nature, Extent, and Perfection of the Divine Goodness," delivered in December, 1762. This review was, to be sure, not particularly able nor candid; but it appears eminently respectable when contrasted with Dr. Mayhew's angry, bitter reply, abounding in spiteful personalities, and painfully deficient in the qualities becoming the controversial matter of a Christian gentleman. This pamphlet is entitled, *A Letter of Reproof to Mr. John Cleaveland, of Ipswich, occasioned by a Defamatory Label published under his name.* . . . By Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., pastor of the West Church, in Boston. Published in 1764, 8vo, 40 pages.

which openly adopted the Unitarian faith, . . . though not Unitarian in the sense in which the term is now used in England." *

But the entire accuracy of Mr. Adams' judgment of Mayhew's doctrinal views has been questioned. It has been suggested, by a very competent and dispassionate student of this period of our ecclesiastical history, that when President Adams, in his old age, named Gay and Mayhew among the Unitarians of his younger days, "his wishes may have deceived his memory in one instance, as well as in the other; for, in 1746, Gay had expressly named the Son 'a Divine person, the Mighty God;' and the Spirit, a 'person of the Godhead.'" And Mayhew was not recognized by Freeman as an Unitarian; for he describes him simply as "an anti-Trinitarian of the School of Clarke; and as allowing the preëxistence of Christ, and the Atonement." † Neither of these gentlemen may have been really an Unitarian after the Freeman pattern. One of Mayhew's successors, within the present century, never allowed himself to be called an Unitarian. But Dr. Mayhew was certainly anti-Calvinistic, strongly; and was fond of caricaturing and ridiculing the doctrines of the fathers; securing a sort of popular applause by the means, just as a few of the

* Gillett, in *Hist. Mag.*, ix, 226-27; *Ellis' Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy*, p. 24.

† Bishop Burgess, on the *Century between 1740 and 1840*, p. 29.

most applauded ministers of the present day do, while still claiming to be thoroughly Orthodox. But Mayhew was not considered perfectly sound in doctrine at the time of his ordination; and some of the Boston ministers refused to assist in the services, and withheld ministerial fellowship from him on this account after his ordination.* Yet, after all, bold though he may have been, Mayhew could preach and publish sermons by the score, from which no distinct doctrinal creed could be easily evolved. It might, to be sure, seem to be a fair inference from what he said, or what he refrained from saying, that he was neither Orthodox nor evangelical; and yet, if charged with unsoundness, it was not difficult for him to defend his phraseology, and escape from the charge by the common rejoinder that it was not the essential doctrine which he disbelieved, but only the perversion of it which had been foisted on the churches; or the received philosophical explanation, which was no part of the doctrine itself.

The correspondence of the elder Jonathan Edwards, and Professor Wigglesworth, of Harvard College, early in 1757, will illustrate more fully what has now been said. In February, 1757, Dr. Edwards wrote to Professor Wigglesworth: "I can't assign any particular acquaintance as my

* Life of Mayhew, in *Gillett*, 226-27.

warrant for troubling you with these lines. . . . I only write as a subject and friend of the same Lord, and a follower and fellow-disciple of the same Jesus. A regard to his interests has made me uneasy ever since I read Dr. Mayhew's late book, some time the last year, and saw that marginal note of his wherein he ridicules the doctrine of the Trinity. And my uneasiness was increased after I had wrote to Mr. Foxcroft upon it, and fully expressed my sentiments to him concerning the call of God to ministers that way, or others whose business it was to teach the doctrines of Christianity, to appear publicly on this occasion, in defence of this doctrine; and he, in reply, informed me that the same affair had been proposed and considered at the board of overseers [of the college]; and in the issue nothing concluded to be done." Dr. Edwards then speaks of Mr. Emlyn's book — *A Humble Inquiry, etc.* — very lately published in New England, by one who called himself a layman — Dr. Mayhew being generally supposed to have been the great promoter of the publication — and notices the fact that the editor, "in his dedication to the ministers of the country, gives them an open and bold (though a very subtle and artful) challenge to answer that book, and defend the proper Deity of Christ, if they can. Since I have read this book, I am abundantly confirmed that my opinion, signified to Mr. Foxcroft, was right; and that the call of God, that some one should appear in open defence of this

doctrine, is very loud and plain. . . . Now, Sir, I humbly conceive that you, above all others in the land, are called to engage in this cause. You are set for the instruction of our youth in divinity in the principal seminary of learning, and it will be among them especially that these pernicious principles will be like to gain ground. Something from you will be more regarded and attended to than [from] any other person."*

Unfortunately, Professor Wigglesworth could not see the crisis in the clear light in which Dr. Edwards saw it. In somewhat delicate health, much engrossed in his academic work, surrounded by the scholarly and attractive men who were even then preparing the way of Unitarianism — little by little, softly, gently — into the ancient university and into the ancient churches of Boston and vicinity; and withal, constitutionally averse to controversy, and under the conviction that discussion would increase rather than remove the evil of which Dr. Edwards complained, the Harvard Professor did not take hold of this work with a will. Nevertheless, he replied at length and very courteously to Dr. Edwards; telling him, among other things, that, "among many things exceptionable in the marginal notes" of Dr. Mayhew's book, he had "at length met one which seemed to insinuate that the canon of

* Manuscript copy of the original letter, in *Clark's Hist. Cong'l Churches of Massachusetts*, p. 181—.

the Old Testament was compiled according to the humor and caprice of the people; that some books were admitted and others left out of the canon, as the people relished or disrelished the contents of them." This the Professor thought was a most dangerous doctrine, and was the first thing which demanded attention. "For if the divine authority of the books of the Old Testament be once shaken, besides all the other mischiefs (too many to be mentioned) we shall be deprived of the weight of that evidence which might be drawn from them for the true and proper Godhead of our Saviour." Accordingly, Dr. Wigglesworth immediately prepared and delivered a lecture to his college hearers in defence of the canon of the Old Testament, and with so much acceptance that it was immediately published by the "request of almost every student in the college." Besides this lecture, we are told that the Boston lectures about that time "were generally vindicating the Divinity of Christ;" and at length came out "a catholic and judicious discourse of Mr. Pemberton upon that subject, prefaced by Dr. Sewall and Mr. Prince, the two oldest ministers of the town."

In regard to Emlyn's book, the Professor thought it would not attract much attention; and he was averse to publishing "a new answer to a book that had been answered over and over again on the other side of the water." He thought that to answer him anew would be to

give the "adverse party" just what they desired—a controversy on the subject.

About 1757-59, there appeared in Connecticut, as well as in Massachusetts, clergymen and laymen, who, while claiming to be entirely sound and orthodox themselves, talked and wrote against "creeds and confessions of human composure being used as tests of Orthodoxy;" and protested against inquisitorial examinations of candidates for the ministry. Dr. Bellamy saw at once whither all this was tending, and made an attempt through the press, in December, 1757, to bring out distinctly the views of these men. He therefore propounded three questions to them:

1. Is it of any importance what men's principles be, if their lives are but good?

2. Whether particular Christian communities, as well as particular persons, have not a right to judge for themselves what is the true sense of Scripture, and what principles are necessary, according to the Holy Scriptures, to be believed and professed, in order to an admission to sealing ordinances or to be employed as public instructors?

3. Why they [particular communities] may not manifest what is their sense of Scripture, in writing, as well as by word of mouth;* that is,

* *The Works of Joseph Bellamy, D.D.* Two volumes, 8vo, 1859. Vol. 1, pp. 506-60; *Connecticut Gazette*, No. 149.

...this gentleman Dr. Belle
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mainly with some historical allusions in it that we are now particularly concerned. After describing the dangers to which Calvinistic churches were exposed from the introduction of Socinianism and other errors gradually and stealthily into them, if their confessions of faith were not faithfully maintained and their ministers carefully examined before ordination — having done this, the doctor proceeds to say: "But perhaps you will say, 'The Calvinists are too suspicious already. There are no Arminians, no Arians, no Socinians, etc., among us. The cry is raised by designing men, merely to answer political ends.' O, my good Scripturista! O, that this were indeed the case! O, that our fears were quite groundless! How soon would I believe it, if you could help me to 'see just reason for it.' But how would the party through New England laugh at our credulity in Connecticut, if their friends among us could make us believe all to be safe till they could carry their points here as they have elsewhere. In New Hampshire province, this party have actually, three years ago [in 1746], got things so ripe, that they have ventured to new model our Shorter Catechism; to alter, or entirely leave out, the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Decrees, of our first parents being created holy, of Original Sin, Christ satisfying Divine Justice, Effectual Calling, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, Assurance of God's Love, Perseverance in Grace, etc.; and to adjust the whole to Dr

obliged to see their way
do not care. They look
bigots, not to be regarded
they speak their hearts
they feel!

"Come from New H

*I have searched in vain
traordinary catechism. Chief
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Hampshire Reports, vol. 1, pp. 1
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and see there a celebrated Doctor of Divinity, the head of a large party! He boldly ridicules the doctrine of the Trinity, and denies the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, in the sight of all the country, in his book of sermons.

"Come nearer home, come to Wallingford [Connecticut]; see there a young gentleman, bold to settle in the ministry, although opposed as an heretic by near half the town. Observe and see how he conducts. How backward to let his peo-

catechism was referred to in proof of this, tending to show that there were Congregationalists in New Hampshire at an early date who rejected the Westminster Catechism doctrines.

In the *New Hampshire Gazette* for April 15th, 1767, appears an advertisement of this catechism, as follows:

"Just Published
Sold by the Printer,
The Assembly's Catechism,
In a Somewhat New Form."

Then follows this explanation:

"It is a fact too plain to be denied, that the Assembly's Catechism, on account of several things in it, is become disagreeable to many Christians. This has tempted some wholly to neglect it, and others to be very remiss in teaching it; while, in the main, it cannot be denied to be a valuable thing. And Religion must extensively suffer should catechizing be laid aside. It has, therefore, been tho't by many, if it was published in somewhat of a new form, and such things as are exceptionable were left out, and a few added, it might much encourage this great and important duty, and serve the interests of religion. At the desire therefore of some, this attempt was made, and is now offered to the public. And either this, or the old one, it is hoped, will be unexceptionable to most Christians; so that none will have any excuse for neglecting the duty. And if it is

ple know his religious sentiments while on probation! How resolved never to be examined by the Consociation, let it cost what it would, though charged with heresy, and cited to appear before them! Yea, although his opposers offer to accept him for their minister, if, upon examination, he should appear to be sound in the faith! And yet under these, even these circumstances, he could find ministers to ordain him!"*

The reader will excuse this long extract, as it contains so much history of the time. It demonstrates the prevalence of "liberal" views of re-

agreeable to the Truth and Simplicity of the Gospel, and meets with the approbation of the Wise and Good, encourages the instructing of youth and serves the interests of Religion, the end is answered."

This long advertisement appeared for a single time only; and I cannot find any other reference to the book in the *Gazette*. It is, undoubtedly, the same book to which Dr Bellamy refers, and which he describes as anti-Trinitarian, as well as anti-Calvinistic; though described by the publisher simply as "The Assembly's Catechism in a somewhat new form!" Denuded of Calvinism and Trinitarianism, the Assembly's Catechism would indeed appear in "a somewhat new form"—a form so new that its very framers would not recognize the work. Who prepared this new catechism, and designed to pass it off as the Assembly's, somewhat modified merely, we are not told; nor how many encouraged this work of mutilation; but the preparation of such a book, at so early a period of New England history, and in a section of the country so remote from the great sources of Unitarianism, and where the number of Congregational ministers was small, is certainly very suggestive. It proves that this heresy existed in this country at an earlier date, and was more widely extended, than has been generally supposed.

* *Bellamy's Works*, i, 597-613.

ligion in New Hampshire,* and even in Connecticut, as well as Massachusetts, as early as 1757-59, and it tells us that, while some of these progressive men boldly proclaimed their sentiments by mutilating the Assembly's Catechism, others sought the same end by denouncing creeds and written confessions of faith, and the examination of candidates for ordination by ecclesiastical councils; and that candidates themselves, by carefully avoiding any distinct declarations of their doctrinal views, worked in the same direction, and secured ordination over churches whose articles of faith these candidates rejected.

* Though there was little or no avowed Unitarianism in New Hampshire till about 1825, there were yet prominent men in the ministry there, at a much earlier date, who were suspected of Unitarianism, if not absolutely known to be of that persuasion. The Rev. Elijah Dunbar, a graduate of Harvard, 1794, and minister of Peterborough from 1799 to 1827, was certainly anti-Calvinistic in sentiment; and a majority of his church became Unitarians.—*Hist New Hampshire Churches*. Rev. Jesse Appleton, of Hampton, 1797-1807, was for a time an Arminian, if nothing less. The Rev. Noah Worcester, of Thornton (1787-1817), was not a Trinitarian, certainly; for he distinctly denied the personality of the Holy Ghost and the real divinity of Jesus Christ; and there were doubtless others in New Hampshire who were anti-Calvinistic, if not anti-Trinitarian, in their views, some years before the open avowal of Unitarianism in the State. So prevalent, indeed, were these views in 1811, that the General Association of New Hampshire made an elaborate and very able address to the churches on the subject of the Trinity, in which are uttered earnest warnings against the prevailing heresy of Unitarianism.—*Panoplist* for November, 1811. Rev. Noah Worcester's *Bible Views*, which

This Wallingford controversy, which was long and bitter, though begun on doctrinal grounds exclusively, resulted in a dispute about ecclesiastical rights and usages, and degenerated finally very much into personalities. The prime cause and occasion of this controversy was the settlement of the Rev. James Dana, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, as pastor of the Congregational Church in Wallingford, Connecticut, against the

was published in 1810, may have been the special occasion of this address. The Rev Jaazaniah Crosby, of Charlestown, New Hampshire (1810-65), was anti-Calvinistic in his faith nearly from the start. Though he studied Divinity with Dr. Jesse Appleton, and had the countenance of Dr. Buckminster, the Piscataqua Association were not unanimous in giving him a license to preach, so much of heterodoxy appeared in his examination; and though an able and attractive preacher, and a man of unusual personal accomplishments and endowments, Mr Crosby had considerable difficulty to find a parish which could unite on him. Though never a partisan, he early avowed himself an Unitarian, and had personal influence enough to draw his people quietly after him; and they remain Unitarian to this day.

A handsome pamphlet was published in 1866, containing appreciative sketches of Dr. Crosby, by his successor in the ministry, Rev. L. Stone; by Dr Sprague, of Albany; and by Rev. A. A. Livermore.

The early ministers in New Hampshire were nearly all graduates of Harvard. Between 1600 and 1750, more than one hundred Harvard graduates settled in the Congregational ministry of New Hampshire; and whatever of anti-Calvinistic influence may have surrounded the students there, during the last half of the eighteenth century, particularly, it must have been felt by these graduates, equally with others in other parts of New England, especially Massachusetts.

protest of a large minority of the people. Mr. Dana "was a scholar and a gentleman, and a man of very general information, of hospitality, and irreproachable morals." * But he was suspected of having imbibed the liberal views of doctrine which prevailed about Cambridge, the place of his birth, education and residence; and when approached by the Wallingford people with inquiries into his doctrinal views, Mr. Dana not only declined to give them satisfaction, but, as they thought, treated them very cavalierly. Both he and the majority of the church refused to recognize the Consociation with which the church was connected, and called a picked council to examine and ordain the candidate; and though he finally consented to present to the Consociation a written confession of his faith, reasonably evangelical and orthodox in general phraseology, yet, as he refused to be questioned by the Consociation on some points which seemed to them a little obscure, they declined to accept his confession. All this tended to confirm the suspicions of the minority, and resulted in a division of the church, and the formation of a new one by the disaffected brethren, some of whom were among the most influential men of the town. From Wallingford the controversy spread all over the colony, and continued for years, alienating brethren and dividing churches. Dr. Trumbull says: "Mr. Dana

* Trumbull.

was a young man at the time of his ordination [October 12th, 1758], and had little acquaintance with the colony, and doubtless took his measures wholly from the ordaining council. Whatever his sentiments were at the time of his ordination, he doubtless considerably changed them upon further improvement and more mature consideration. He made no secret of it, that he committed numbers of his first sermons to the flames.* Yet he retained through life the reputation of a very conservative, cautious and non-committal preacher; and some of the ordaining council were regarded as equally uncertain and unsound on doctrinal points as the man on whom they laid hands.*

During the Wallingford controversy, in 1759, the Rev. Noah Hobart, of Fairfield, Connecticut, published a pamphlet of forty octavo pages, on *The Principles of Congregational Churches, etc., Applied to the Case of the late Ordination at Wallingford*. In this occur the following important

* Trumbull devotes a long chapter to this Wallingford controversy — vol. II, chap. XXV; Dr. Bacon has a discourse on *Jesus Dana at Wallingford and New Haven*, in which the story is pretty fully told, and fairly, though rather gently for Dana. There are extant quite a list of controversial pamphlets on this subject. Ten of these, containing four hundred and sixty-two octavo pages, may be found in the Congregational Library, Boston; which is already a rich storehouse of old books and pamphlets illustrative of Congregational history.

historical allusions: * "It is universally known to all who are in any measure acquainted with things of this nature, that there has been a very great change (either for the better or the worse) in the principles or doctrines of religion introduced into the English nation since our forefathers left it; so great that those doctrines which were then almost universally esteemed not only important but (some of them) fundamental truths of Christianity have been by some explained away, by others flatly denied, and by too many even treated with banter and ridicule. Arminianism led the way, Pelagianism followed it, Arianism and Socinianism brought up the rear. And while such as professed a regard to the gospel were explaining away or denying its most essential doctrines, Deism has come in like a flood, and almost swallowed up the very name of Christianity. These corruptions in doctrine have crossed the Atlantic, and too many in our churches, and even among our

* Hobart's *Principles of Congregational Churches*, etc., p. 35. Published at New Haven, Connecticut, 1760. 8vo, 40 pages.

The Rev. Noah Hobart was a grandson of the Rev. Peter Hobart, of Hingham, Massachusetts; a graduate of Harvard, 1724; pastor of the First Congregational Church of Fairfield, Connecticut, for forty years; and died December 6th, 1773, aged sixty-eight years. Mr. Hobart sustained a high reputation as a scholar and a divine. President Stiles said of him, "His character for meuteness of genius, learning, and all the virtues that adorn the Christian life was not inferior to any one of his order" in the colony.—*Holmes' Ann.*, II, 184, note 7; *Allen's Brev. Dict.*

ministers, have fallen in with them. Books containing them have been imported, and the demand for them has been so great as to encourage new impressions of some of them. Others have been written on the same principles in the country; and even the doctrine of the sacred and adorable Trinity has been publicly treated in such a manner as all who believe that doctrine must judge not only heretical, but blasphemous."

In 1768 the Rev. Dr. Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, preached a sermon in the Old South meeting-house, Boston, on "The Importance and Necessity of Christians considering Jesus Christ in the extent of his High and Glorious Character." In the preface to this sermon, which was published by the desire of a number of his hearers, Dr. Hopkins says that it was prepared "under a conviction that the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ was much neglected, if not disbelieved, by a number of the ministers in Boston."

Dr. Hopkins, doubtless, rightly apprehended the state of things in and around Boston at that time, so far as religious sentiments were concerned. There was, to be sure, little or no outspoken opposition to the doctrines of the first churches of New England. But some of these — some of the most important of them, too — were seldom preached; and when alluded to, it was generally in such a way as to give an uncertain

sound to the hearer. If complaint was made, the ready reply was, that Bible language was used; and every imputation of unsoundness in the faith was repelled with energy, if not violence.

If the question be asked, "Why, with all this real declension from standard Orthodoxy, there was not more discussion and controversy?" several answers may be given. In the first place, these liberal gentlemen, though perhaps conscious of differing somewhat from the traditional Orthodoxy of New England, were, probably, unconscious of being heretical in their sentiments. They may have believed that their faith was substantially that of the fathers; differing mainly in their methods of teaching, in their philosophy, and in their more simple, liberal and reasonable interpretations of Scripture, whereby the austere and forbidding aspects of Calvinism were softened and made more acceptable to men; while all essential truth was retained. Some of these ministers were amiable, easy-going men, who had entered the ministry from the Half-way Covenant churches of the times, never having had any deep personal experience of the power of religion and of the truth of the great evangelical doctrines pertaining to sin, regeneration, the Divine life in the soul, through the gracious work of the Spirit; never, in short, having had any inward, heartfelt religious experience, they were not capable of truly appreciating the importance of the great distinguishing doctrines of the evangelical system,

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Mr. Ellis makes the best possible defence of early Unitarians against the charge of intentional and cowardly concealment of their views (pages 16-29).

And as to a considerable number of these liberal divines, it will not be uncharitable to suppose that, with a natural distaste for doctrinal studies, coupled with a lack of personal religious experience, they really did not know exactly what they did believe; for, so far as the great experimental doctrines of Calvinism and Trinitarianism were concerned, these men dwelt in "a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness." And so they very naturally found it easier and more pleasant to drift along with the current into Arminianism, anti-Trinitarianism, Arianism, Socinianism and Unitarianism, or anything else that might be popular. Neither were the really Orthodox ministers — particularly in Massachusetts, and more particularly about Boston — very ready to open the controversy on distinguishing doctrines. The ministers were all banded together in local and general associations; were on friendly and familiar terms with each other — much more so, probably, than our ministers now are; and were very naturally reluctant to do anything to disturb these pleasant relations, break up this union and harmony, and separate near neighbors and, it might be, dear personal friends, on doctrinal and

religious grounds, as a sharp controversy would be sure to do. Much of this is inferable from the correspondence between Drs. Edwards and Wigglesworth, already noticed. Yet, after all, it is not unlikely that the controversy would have broken out in New England about the time now under review, but for the coming on of the Revolutionary War, which for the time being absorbed the attention of the clergy and the people, to the neglect of every other great public question. And no men in the country entered into revolutionary measures with more zeal than did the clergy; and of the clergy none were more patriotic than the "liberal" ministers; and even for many years after that war was closed, there were great public questions as well as social and private matters enough to occupy all minds and hearts and hands, without entering on theological discussions. Everything had to be reorganized, repaired, set up and set in motion. In short, the country had to begin a new life.

Though between the years 1780-90 twenty-two Congregational churches were formed in Massachusetts, yet in Boston there were not so many in 1785 as in 1735; three having been crushed out by the Revolutionary War.

In 1789, the Rev. Mr. Freeman, of King's Chapel, Boston, wrote to Mr. Belsham, in England, that there were, even then, many churches in New England whose worship was strictly Uni-

tarian; and the publication of a pamphlet in Boston, made up of extracts from Emlyn's works, in 1790, indicates the progress of Unitarian views to that date.

The Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, of which we have repeatedly spoken, seems to have grown into a formal existence about the year 1720. Not that the ministers began then to hold annual meetings for the first time, for it had, from the very beginning of the settlement of the colony, been the custom of the ministers to gather in Boston on election day, to promote brotherly love and religious improvement, to give and receive advice, to concert measures for the general good, and to be ready to advise the magistrates, if requested. They generally dined together, and not infrequently had the governor and members of his council to dine with them. On the 25th of May, 1720, election day, the ministers met at Judge Sewall's and adjourned to the next day, when they voted that a sermon should be preached before them annually, on the day following the general election. The Rev. Increase Mather was the first preacher, 1721, and Rev. Cotton Mather was the preacher for 1722. This was a private service for eight years, the meetings and the preaching being in private houses. In 1731 the Convention began to take up a collection after the annual sermon for missionary purposes; for to help the feeble was always a prominent object of these meetings.

Subsequently this annual contribution was devoted to the support of needy widows and orphans of deceased members of the Convention. The meeting, the sermon and the collection gradually grew to be distinct and important events of "Election Week." Everything continues to this day substantially as of old, except the importance of the occasion. In the course of years, the funds at the disposal of the Convention so increased that it was deemed advisable to organize a distinct body to attend to these matters; and so, in 1785, the Convention appointed eight of their own number, and twelve laymen, to be incorporated in 1786 as the "Congregational Charitable Society of Massachusetts." This corporation had the right conferred upon it to fill its own vacancies; and so, unwittingly, passed from the control of the Convention the funds which then existed, and which subsequently accumulated from legacies and collections, amounting, in 1829, to over forty-five thousand dollars, and in 1858 to between sixty and seventy thousand dollars.*

* See *An Historical Sketch of the Convention of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, etc., etc., 1821*, p. 32; *Spirit of the Times*, III, pp. 248-255; *Clark's Cong'l Churches Mass.*, pp. 128-31, 223.

The collections after the Convention sermons were sometimes quite large. A note appended to Dr. Joseph Lyman's Convention sermon, May 29th, 1870, informs us "The collection this year was greater than that of any preceding, amounting to *one hundred and twenty-five dollars!*"—page 23. It may not be amiss to say that the doctor's sermon was an earnest and thoroughly Orthodox discourse, without being in the least controversial in its style.

The Rev. Thomas Barnard, of Salem, in his Convention sermon, May 30th, 1793, fully admits "a real difference" between the Massachusetts ministers on "the doctrines of Christ and the best mode of propagating them" at that date; though he deprecates all alienation, separation, or even debate on that account. Among the advantages of the conventional meeting, he mentions its tendency "to promote Catholicism." "We meet together," he says, "in this House of Prayer, and present ourselves before God as Christians and ministers of the gospel. Yet there is not only a real difference between us as to form and manners, but as to our opinion of the doctrines of Christ, and the best mode of propagating them. Still, who shall discriminate between us, and say which of us are the best qualified ministers and which are unworthy the sacred office? God and our Lord, who only are infallible, allow us, however different, to rank in the same character. They fix upon us no mark by which we may be distinguished from each other; nor have they set any causes in motion by which we may be distinguished. Shall we distinguish between each other, and with haughty, magisterial airs, pronounce damnatory sentences? What gross impropriety! We have not the spirit of infallibility. We depend for our progress in knowledge of Christianity upon situation, industry, and the common blessing of God. When we are placed favorably for books and conversa-

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extract from Dr. Barnard's Convention sermon of 1793, the face of those times and of a considerable number of the Congregational ministers of those times may be clearly perceived.

Though there were fundamental differences of opinion among the Massachusetts ministers, many of whom were anti-Calvinists, and some of them real Unitarians, yet, when Priestly came to this country in 1794, with his bald humanitarian Unitarianism, the leaders of this movement here did not deem it expedient to invite him to Boston — the very home of this heresy in this country. He was suffered to live and labor for the spread of his Socinian views, hundreds of miles south of Massachusetts, to the day of his death, in 1804. But, according to Lord Brougham's account, Priestly accomplished but little in the region where he labored, for he says: "In America he again suffered considerable disappointment. His religion was too much for those who had ceased to care for sacred things, and far too scanty for those who still were Christians; while his republican opinions were exceedingly distasteful, because they were tinged with a decided admiration for France. . . . We find his leanings are all against the Federal party, and his censures of the great Chief of the Union little concealed." * . . .

* *Allibone, sub. nom.* Dr. Priestly landed in New York in June, 1794; lectured there, and then went to Pennsylvania, where he spent the remnant of his days laboring on a farm, and in writing, publishing and lecturing on a variety of subjects.

Dr. Priestly's politics probably neutralized his religious notions, in the opinion of Massachusetts Unitarians, who were largely Federalists.

Dr. Freeman, of Boston, in writing to his friend Dr. Lindsey, the distinguished English Unitarian, in May, 1796, tells him that "the Unitarian doctrine appears to be still upon the increase. I am acquainted with a number of ministers, particularly in the southern part of this State, who avow and publicly preach this sentiment. There are others more cautious, who content themselves with leading their hearers, by a course of rational but prudent sermons, gradually and insensibly to embrace it. Though this latter mode is not what I entirely approve, yet it produces good effects; for the people are thus kept out of the reach of false opinions, and are prepared for the impressions which will be made on them by more bold and ardent successors, who will probably be raised up when these timid characters are removed off the stage."

Dr. Freeman was then hoping much from Dr. Priestly's labors: "In Pennsylvania, much may be expected from the labors of Dr. Priestly." But, fifteen years later, Lindsey says: "Dr. Priestly's personal ministry in the United States was attended with very little apparent success. In Northumberland [Pennsylvania], where he resided, he collected but few proselytes; and in Philadelphia, where the chapel in which he preached was at first crowded with the principal

characters in the United States, he was afterward for some reason or other almost deserted." *

That Freeman did not exaggerate the tendency towards Unitarianism in the Eastern States at the time he wrote, is evident from the declaration of the Rev. Leonard Worcester, of Peacham, Vermont, a brother of Noah and Thomas Worcester, and at first inclined to sympathize with his brother's peculiar views, but withal a man of strong mind, sound judgment, great honesty and simplicity of character, and unaffected piety, and every way qualified to give a trustworthy opinion. Mr. Worcester said, in 1795, that "Socinianism or Arianism had very extensively, if not very generally, taken the place of Arminianism" in New England.†

* See *American Unitarianism*, etc., by Rev. Thomas Belsham, pp. 22, 23, and 24. Boston, 1815. 8vo, 48 pages.

† I have nowhere met with any published opinions of Leonard Worcester, but from his private manuscript letters, written in 1810 and in 1815, I should very much question the absolute correctness of Allen's characterization of this modest, devout and intelligent man, of whom it is said. "After the publication of the *Table Views* by his brother Noah, he embraced his peculiar doctrines." . . . *Biog. Diet.* In his private letters on this subject, Mr. Worcester nowhere admits this, and he nowhere attempts to defend his brother's peculiar views. His position was one of independence of all human representations of the Trinity, and of dissatisfaction with all philosophical attempts to explain the Divine existence as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. He insisted that no man could improve on Bible language in speaking of these; and for himself, he carefully avoided any other than this language. It is probable that at first he sympathized with his brother's views, but gradually receded from them as the brother advanced in his speculations.

At the close of the eighteenth century, it appeared that the Congregational churches of Massachusetts numbered three hundred and forty-four, fifteen of which had been formed between 1790-1800; while of all other denominations there were not half that number, namely: of Baptists, ninety-three churches; of Methodists, twenty-nine—all of which had sprung up during the last ten years of the century;* of Episcopalians, fourteen; of Quakers, eight; of Universalists, four; of Presbyterians, two; and of Roman Catholics, one.

These last years of the century, though marked by the steady if not rapid growth of Unitarianism in Massachusetts, furnish proof of the religious activity of the Orthodox. In 1798 the first home missionary society was formed, in the county of Berkshire, Massachusetts, and the contiguous county of Columbia, New York; and in 1799 the "Massachusetts Missionary Society" was formed, one year after the formal organization of the "Missionary Society of Connecticut;" and it was during these ten years that powerful revivals of religion visited various parts of the country, including portions of Massachusetts, and extending into the Middle and Southern States.†

* *Clark*, 220. The first Methodist meeting house in Boston was opened by a Methodist missionary in 1795. *Hidvee*, 11, 465. The Methodists first appeared in Massachusetts in 1790.

† A more particular notice of these revivals, with others which have blessed this country, will be found in another chapter of this work.

adding to the rich blessings of civil freedom—the fruit of the Revolutionary struggle—the richer and freer gifts of Divine grace, whereby thousands were made free with the liberty wherewith Christ makes free; and at the same time verifying the consoling promise that, “when the enemy cometh in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him.”

CHAPTER XVI.

UNITARIAN DEVELOPMENTS, 1800-1815—THE CONTROVERSY,
1815-1825.

THE first five-and-twenty years of the present century were eventful years in the history of Congregationalism. It was during these years that the great Unitarian schism in these churches was fully developed. The doctrine, as we have seen, had been slowly and cautiously developing itself in Massachusetts during more than half the preceding century; and the prediction had been made, that the time might come when "churches would be gathered out of churches" in New England. On the 1st of October, 1801, this prophecy was fulfilled; and, noticeably enough, in Old Plymouth, and in the first Congregational church in America. This old church had lived on for a century and three quarters, under an Orthodox and evangelical ministry, till 1799-1800; when, on the death of the Rev. Chandler Robbins, by a very small majority, but with the overwhelming assistance of the society, it called to the pastorate the Rev. James Kendall,* an estimable gentleman,

* According to the records of the church, there were twenty-three votes for Mr. Kendall, and fifteen against him, and in the society meeting, there were two hundred and fifty three votes for him, and only fifteen against him.—*Dr. Kendall's Centennial Sermon*, note A.

but neither Orthodox nor evangelical in sentiment, who proved to be, what at the time of his ordination he was supposed to be, an Unitarian.

Mr. Kendall was ordained January 1st, 1800; and after hearing him for several months, fifty-two members of his church — eighteen males and thirty-four females, just one member less than half of the entire membership of the church — separated themselves from the old church and were organized into the "Third Church in Plymouth," afterward called the "Church of the Pilgrimage;" assigning as a reason for this important step, that they "could not longer conscientiously unite in public worship with those from whom they had separated." *

The defection of this ancient church and society from sound doctrine was not a sudden and recent event. The members had been gradually declining from the faith and practice of the fathers for more than half a century. As far back as the time of the Great Awakening in

* *Manual of the Church of the Pilgrimage, Plymouth, Massachusetts*, p. 20.

I call this the first fulfillment of Cotton Mather's prophecy — that the time would come when churches would be gathered out of churches in New England. It was not, however, the first parish separation on account of doctrine, for, in 1792, the entire church, lacking four members, in Taunton, Massachusetts, separated itself from the old parish, on account of the opposition of the controlling men in the society "to some of the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith."

1740, though the pastor and a majority of the church sympathized with it, there was developed among them so much hostility to it, that a considerable body of the people, under the advice and direction of Dr. Chauncey, the arch-enemy of this revival, seceded and formed a second church. But, unfortunately, this church and society, after about thirty years, returned to the old church, and reinforced the Arminianism and Socinianism and whatever of anti-evangelical sentiment there was in the old body, and helped to make it what it ultimately became under Dr. Kendall's ministry — an openly Unitarian body.*

Thus was effected this great revolution in John Robinson's church; and thus were the evangelical members compelled to abandon their place of worship, relinquish all interest in the furniture of the church, and whatever of funds there may have been for the benefit of the church, or else submit to hear what they believed to be erroneous teachings, and to countenance measures hostile to the highest spiritual interests of the church and society.

It is satisfactory to know, however, that the self-denying action of these brethren and sisters, in coming out from the old body, and separating themselves to the work of the Lord, has evidently met the Divine approval. Beginning with fifty-two members, this Church of the Pilgrimage has

* See *Clark*, 151, 161 and 232-35.

grown in numbers until more than seven hundred names have been added to the original number; two thirds of them by profession.* The whole present membership is three hundred and seven; but beside this Pilgrim Church three others of like faith, with an aggregate of nearly two hundred and fifty church members, stand as sentinels for the faith once delivered to the saints in the old town of Plymouth.

But it must not be supposed that this defection from the faith of the fathers in the Old Colony was of sudden growth or was confined to the town of Plymouth. The truth is, that for more than half a century that whole vicinage had given evidence of serious declension from the "old paths" — "the good way" wherein their fathers walked and found rest for their souls.† Indeed,

* The old church, under Dr. Kendall's ministry, 1800-50, increased "something over two hundred" in fifty years. During the forty years' ministry of his immediate predecessor, Rev. Chandler Robbins, two hundred and twenty persons only were added to the old church; and during the thirty-seven years of his predecessor's ministry, Rev. Nathaniel Leonard, three hundred and thirteen were added. — Compare *Dr. Kendall's Centennial Sermon*, pp. 8-11, and *Manual of Church of Pioneers*, pp. 28 and 45.

† Of the thirteen Congregational ministers in Barnstable county in 1740-43, two only were ready to give testimony in favor of the Great Awakening of that period, while ten did what they could to discredit the work and to keep their people from its influence. — 1. *Discourse before the Barnstable Conference*, December 10, 1855, by Rev. Joseph S. Clark, D.D., p. 21. For the names of those who attested to the great revival of that day, see *Christian History*, 1, 157-67, 174, 180-90, 192-200.

so extensive was this declension, that, about the year 1800, out of twenty Congregational churches planted by our pious fathers within the bounds of the Barnstable Conference, there remained only two or three churches which adhered to the Orthodox faith of their founders.*

This separation of the Orthodox members of a church from their Arminian and Unitarian brethren, though for a time the only case in Massachusetts, was destined, after many days, to become one among scores of cases, to which we shall have occasion to refer before this sketch is closed.

This beginning of a separation in the churches was followed the next year by an attempt to bring about a corresponding separation among the ministers.

In 1802 a movement was made, amidst much doubt and considerable direct opposition, to bring the Congregational ministers together in a General Association, with a doctrinal basis which should bind them to the ancient confessions of the churches, as expressed by their general councils and in their approved standards. This, of course, was resisted by all who had consciously departed from the ancient faith of New England,

* *Clark's Barnstable Discourse*, p. 32.

It is pleasant to be able to add, on the same good authority, that in 1855 nearly all the lapsed churches had been recovered — all but two or three; and that there were then thirty Orthodox Congregational churches on the same ground which the twenty old churches occupied.

or who were unprepared to declare their actual doctrinal status; and it was not until 1803 that the plan could be consummated.*

This was the first step in the great work of separating the Congregational ministers of the State into two great parties — Evangelical and Unitarian; and thus preparing the way for the great contest which continued to rage until every minister and every church in Massachusetts was called on to take a place on one side or the other of the great dividing line.

The organization of the "Hampshire Missionary Society" in 1802, of the "Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" in 1803 — a sort of tract, Sunday school and missionary society — and the establishment of the second religious periodical ever published in the State

* The essential objects of the General Association of Massachusetts are thus stated in its Constitution, viz.: "To promote brotherly intercourse and harmony, and our mutual animation, assistance and usefulness as ministers of Christ, to obtain information relative to the state of our particular churches and the general state of the Christian church in this country and through the Christian world; and to cooperate with other similar institutions in the most eligible measures for building up the cause of truth and holiness."

The Association "wholly disclaim ecclesiastical power or authority over the churches, or the opinions of individuals."

They "admit as articles of faith the doctrines of Christianity as they are generally expressed in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism," and consider these doctrines as the basis of [their] union." — *Panoplist* (N. S.), vol. II, p. 142.

—the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine** — all deserve notice as indicating the condition and attitude of the Orthodox Congregationalists of this period; for all these instruments of good were devised and operated by them. The *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine*, though started with special reference to missionary intelligence, was united with the *Panoplist* in 1808; and bore a conspicuous and most important part in the hard-fought theological contest which continued in Massachusetts for many years, and resulted in the full development of Unitarianism, and the separation of the Congregational churches and ministers of the State into two distinct and hostile parties. The *Panoplist* had been in opera-

*The *Christian History*, edited by Thomas Prince, Jr., son of the Rev. Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, 1743-46, was the first. This was a weekly 8vo pamphlet, of eight pages, chiefly occupied with accounts of religious revivals in this and other countries; and is an invaluable repository of facts relating to the revivals of that period. It lived but two years.

The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was an association "for the benevolent purpose of promoting evangelical truth and piety; in the first place, by a charitable distribution of some of the best religious books and tracts among poor and pious Christians . . . and also among the inhabitants of new towns and plantations, . . . and in process of time . . . by supporting charity schools or pious missionaries in the places just described." It thus included the germs of three benevolent associations — Tract and Book Society; Sunday School Society; and a Home Missionary Society. — See *Panoplist and Miss. Magazine*, xi, 428-33.

tion some three years when the union with the *Missionary Magazine* was consummated, in 1808.

But all the activity was not on the Orthodox side. The Unitarians were fully alive to the importance of using the periodical press in this great conflict; so the *Monthly Anthology* was established in 1803, devoted to "philosophy, religion, history, arts and manners" — professedly; but designed especially to promote Unitarianism. It was superseded in 1812 by the *General Repository*, openly Unitarian; and by the *Christian Disciple* in 1813. The *Christian Monitor*, established in 1806, also did efficient work for Unitarianism.

One of the most significant events of the early years of this century, so far as Congregational history is concerned, was the election and confirmation, in 1805, of the Rev. Henry Ware, of Hingham, as Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College.* This professorship was established by a Trinitarian Calvinistic Baptist, on the sole condition that the incumbent should ever be a man "of sound or Orthodox principles;"† and up to that time the Hollis professor had always been a man who could honestly "profess

* Dr. Jesse Appleton, afterwards President of Bowdoin College, was Dr. Ware's chief competitor for the office.

† This was the express condition on which Daniel Henchman, of Boston, in 1747, left a legacy to be added to the endowment by Mr. Hollis, to support a Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; and the legacy was accepted by the college.

and teach the principles of the Christian religion according to the well-known Confession of Faith drawn up by the Synod of the churches of New England." But Mr. Ware was known to be anti-Calvinistic; was suspected of Arianism, and, by many, of Unitarianism. Dr. Tappan, his immediate predecessor, died in 1803; and the office remained empty for more than a year, the corporation being equally divided, and unable to fill the vacancy. At length, in 1804, President Willard and the Rev. Dr. Simeon Howard, of the West Church, Boston, died. Dr. Howard's place in the corporation was immediately filled by the election of Dr. John Eliot, of the North Church, Boston, and the Board of Overseers proceeded at once to confirm Mr. Ware's election, having then a majority of Unitarians.* And this was done while the candidate lay under the imputation of being neither sound nor Orthodox; while "the right to examine him was denied;" while no satisfactory answer could be obtained from Dr. Ware to the question whether he believed in the Divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ; and while his particular religious principles, though often asked for, were not disclosed.

This was a grand triumph of Unitarianism in Massachusetts. It was so regarded by both par-

* The corporation then consisted of the Hon. Oliver Wendell, Hon. John Davis, the Rev. Drs. Lathrop, Eliot, and Pearson, and Ebenezer Storer, Esq.

ties in this contest. The ancient college to which the State looked for ministers and professional men was now openly and unquestionably in the hands of men who, if not confessed Unitarians, were yet inimical to the doctrines of the founders of the college and the fathers of our churches.

In 1803 William Ellery Channing was settled over the church which for three years had been under the care of the learned Grecian, Popkin, and for eleven years previous had been in charge of the amiable and exemplary Belknap, whose careful avoidance of doctrinal discussions and whose general moderation were quite in contrast with the fervor and controversial habits of Mr. Channing.* To him more than to any other man is Unitarianism indebted for the popularity which it soon began to enjoy.

The lovely Buckminster, with his grace and elegance, his learning and devotional spirit, in 1805 succeeded Dr. Thacher as pastor of the Brattle Street Church; and during his short ministry contributed largely to draw the cultivated men and women of Boston into the ranks of avowed Unitarianism.

But as yet, neither party was quite ready for

* Dr. Belknap's *Psalms and Hymns*, adapted to meet the taste of all serious persons, of whatever denomination, were a pretty fair illustration of his character as a Christian minister — destitute of all sharp points, whether Calvinistic, Arminian or Arian.

an open rupture; and it was not until 1805 that "the first formal and elaborate defence of Unitarianism that ever appeared in New England" was published. The author was the Rev. John Sherman, pastor of the first Congregational Church in Mansfield, Connecticut.* This discourse, or treatise, was entitled: *One God in One person only; and Jesus Christ a Being Distinct from God, dependent upon Him for his Existence and his Various Powers; Maintained and Defended, etc.* 1805. 8vo, 200 pages.

For this open avowal of Unitarianism Mr. Sherman was deposed from the ministry and excommunicated from the church; and soon after left the State. The book and the ecclesiastical proceedings which it occasioned produced a great excitement through New England, and set pens as well as tongues at work in every direction. The public mind was all ready for a conflagration—it required but a single match to start it; and Sherman was a genuine fire-brand.†

*The Rev. Hosea Ballou, the great Universalist leader, had published in 1803 or 1804 a treatise on the Atonement, in which he took anti-Trinitarian ground.

†See Sprague, *Allen, Atherton, Burgess*, p. 53; *Gillett, Hist. Mag.*, April, 1871, pp. 249, 317; *Panoplist*, xi, 256.

Mr. Sherman was grandson of Roger Sherman and seems to have been a man of ability and amiable qualities. Sherman moved to Western New York, and was the pastor of a church there for a few years. He became a Materialist, relinquished the ministry, and finally forfeited his religious if not his moral character.—*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii, 292.

As an offset to an Unitarian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Andover Theological Seminary—as has been already stated—was opened in 1808 by the Orthodox Congregationalists; and by the same men and women, the kindred institution, as it was then esteemed, the “American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” was organized in 1810.

Another significant sign of these times was the opposition which appeared to the examination of candidates by ordaining councils. And still another sign was the agitation of the question of ministerial exchanges: Should ministers who believed and preached Trinitarian and Calvinistic doctrines exchange pulpits and ministerial services with those who disbelieved and denounced those doctrines? And yet, as late as May, 1808, when, after a severe struggle, the Orthodox members of the Old South Church, of Boston, succeeded in securing the election of the Rev. Joshua Huntington as colleague to Dr. Eckley, the Rev. Drs. Lathrop and Lowell, with the Rev. Mr.—afterwards Dr.—Channing, all avowed liberalists, united in the ordination services; and even in December of the same year (1808), when the Rev. John Codman was ordained at Dorchester, after a distinct declaration of his belief in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost as the one living and true God; and his request—which was complied with—that *Watts' Psalms and Hymns*

might be restored, instead of a collection which excluded the Trinitarian Doxologies — even after all this, the man who became the leader and champion of Unitarianism in America, William Ellery Channing, preached the ordination sermon of this avowed Trinitarian; and Buckminster, Eckley, Osgood, Harris and Lowell performed the other parts of the ordination service.

But the era of good-fellowship among all Congregational ministers in this State was destined soon to end. Both parties were gathering up their strength and preparing for the great struggle, which was seen to be unavoidable. As yet, the pulpit had no voice. The great questions at issue between the new and old divines were seldom discussed there. But the press was becoming more and more active; and more controversial matter relating to Trinitarian and Calvinistic doctrines appeared during a few years, about 1808–10, than had been published in New England since its first settlement. An intelligent stranger, on visiting Boston in 1810, could write that Unitarianism seemed to be the predominating system there at that time; and in 1812, Mr. Wells, an educated, influential, and specially active Boston Unitarian, could write to Mr. Belsham that, while there was but one church, King's Chapel, professedly Unitarian, most of the clergy and respectable laity were Unitarians; and this, though the controversy was seldom introduced into the pulpit, and the majority of those who were Uni-

tarians were such, perhaps, unconsciously.* But, if the pulpit was not outspoken, the press was; as the *General Repository*, the organ of the Unitarian party in New England, did not hesitate to pronounce the doctrine of the Trinity "the greatest corruption of modern times."

Among the important publications of this period were two which appeared in 1808. One of these was entitled: *Hymns for Public Worship, Part ii. For the use of the Church in Brattle Street, Boston.* 12mo, 156 pages. The other was entitled: *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, embracing all the Varieties of Subject and Metre, suitable for Private Devotion and the Worship of Churches.* By William Emerson, A.M., Pastor of the First Church in Boston.

These two books, though brought out quietly, were among the most significant signs of the times, and the most subtle and dangerous movements against Orthodoxy. They were both constructed on the same general plan, namely: to exclude everything that recognized Trinitarian and Calvinistic doctrines. This was accomplished by selecting, as far as possible, psalms and hymns which dwelt on general topics, and by dropping a stanza here and there from favorite hymns which brought to view evangelical truths; by inserting, in place of these, stanzas from other sources; and,

* *Life of Lindsey*; *Panoplist*, June, 1815, pp. 253-54.

when this could not well be done, by altering the language of the original hymn, to make it speak the sentiments of the compiler; and, finally, by mortising into mutilated Orthodox hymns, stanzas, or parts of stanzas, written by Unitarians. This process of hymn-making was severely censured by the *Panoplist*, September, 1808, and January, 1809; and the summary opinion is expressed, that in some of these psalms and hymns, particularly of Mr. Emerson's collection, "there is a remarkable incongruity with the plainest parts of the sacred writings; and in others a contrariety of character in the compositions themselves." *

The hymn-book in most general use in the Boston churches at this time (1808) was *Belknap's Collection*. This first appeared in 1795, and by 1804 had made its way into quite general use. This was a sort of compromise hymn-book, which was designed to meet the wants of moderate men of all creeds and theological shades; and it answered its great end, and quietly accustomed the people to the absence of distinctive doctrinal truths, such as the older psalms and hymns of the Congregational churches often brought to view.

But the more advanced thinkers had got beyond this negative stage, and, appreciating the immense influence which psalms and hymns and spiritual songs had in the formation of a religious

* *Panoplist* (N. S.), 1, 303.

character, they set themselves to prepare a collection and selection of psalms and hymns which should not only be free from all distinctively Orthodox doctrines, but should be so manipulated that, while the people thought they were singing the psalms and hymns of Watts, Doddridge, and other evangelical hymnologists, there should not be a sentiment incongruous with Unitarianism.*

It was just at this time, when all the old Congregational churches of Boston, with the single exception of the Old South, were really if not avowedly Unitarian in sentiment, that the hearts of a few good and zealous men were stirred within them to attempt to rebuild the old Waste; and, as the result of much consideration and prayer, a

* One of the ministers of the Philadelphia Unitarian Society wrote to England, September 28th, 1811, and his letter was published in the *London Monthly Repository*, vol. vii, pp. 50, 51. In this, among other things, he says: "Having this summer made an excursion to Boston, perhaps a few particulars relative to the state of religious information there may not be unacceptable. . . . Of late years there has been a remarkable change in the Congregational churches at Boston. Of this description there are nine, eight [ten, nine] of which are supplied by ministers differing more or less on various topics, but all living in great harmony with each other, and with Messrs. Freeman and Cary [the avowedly Unitarian pastors of King's Chapel], with whom they occasionally exchange pulpits. . . . In most of the Congregational churches *Belknap's Collection* is used. Mr. Buckminster uses Tate and Brady's, and a selection compiled by himself. Ere long, Belknap's book must be discarded, for all the ministers alluded to are anti-Calvinistic and anti-Trinitarian." — *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, ii, 220-21.

new Congregational church was formed in 1809, known as Park Street Church.

In 1810 there appeared a champion for the new theology, whose voice was decided enough to satisfy the most exacting on either side. It was the Rev. Elphalet Porter, of Roxbury, who, in his Convention sermon, said of the doctrines of "Original Sin, a Trinity in Unity, the Mere Humanity, Super-Angelic Nature, or Absolute Deity of Christ, and the Absolute Eternity of Punishment, . . . I cannot place my finger on any one article in the list of doctrines just mentioned, the belief or rejection of which I consider essential to the Christian faith or character." *

In 1810-11, another Unitarian minister was discovered in Connecticut, and dismissed from his pastoral charge by the Tolland Consociation. This was the Rev. Abiel Abbot, pastor of the Congregational church in Coventry, Connecticut. He was settled in 1795, with unanimity; and but little opposition to his preaching was manifested until about February, 1810. The case was not finally disposed of until June, 1811.†

About this same time (1810) came forth from

* In *Bureau*, p. 90.

† See a full review of the sharply contested case of Rev. Abiel Abbot, in the *Panoplist* for 1812, vol. v., pp. 116-45.

two New Hampshire ministers, the Revs. Noah and Thomas Worcester, a remarkable book, entitled: *Bible News of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit*. It was written in a devout spirit, and was the work of able and ingenious men; and for a time excited a good deal of attention, and exerted considerable influence favorable to Unitarianism. It ran through several editions, and was followed by kindred works by the same authors; but though much praised by the liberal party, it is doubtful whether many of them fully adopted its peculiar notions, or any of the party long held them. According to these views, Christ is the Son of God as truly as Isaac was the son of Abraham; not, however, a "created," but a "derived" being; a person of "Divine dignity," "constituted the Creator of the world," and the object of "Divine honors." *

There comes in just here a scrap of history touching the progress of Unitarianism, and its status in Boston and vicinity about the years 1810-12, which demands special attention. The Rev. Mr. Grundy, a Unitarian minister of Manchester, England, published a sermon about this time, which had been preached at the opening of a new Unitarian chapel in Liverpool. In this there was a highly colored account of the rapid and extensive progress of Unitarianism in Boston,

* *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, II, 293.

Massachusetts, and the immediate neighborhood ; derived from "a gentleman who had recently been in Boston, and thought himself fully qualified to give an account of Unitarianism in that place." Mr. Grundy's informant says: "For several years these doctrines [of Unitarianism] have been spreading rapidly in the town of Boston; and at present [1811-12] an open profession is made of them by the most popular and influential of the clergy there. Nor is this change by any means confined to the teachers of religion; inasmuch as a gentleman of much talent and very high celebrity in America, in speaking on this subject to the writer of this article, said that he did not think that there were two persons in Boston who believed in the doctrine of the Trinity. This assertion, though it certainly cannot be intended to be literally understood, may serve to show the great prevalence of Unitarianism; in further proof of which, it may be well to mention that a very large and expensive place of worship, which has been recently erected to enforce Calvinistic doctrines, has completely failed, and it was expected would be sold to its opponents." Park Street meeting-house is doubtless here referred to. "The office of President of Harvard College having lately become vacant, Dr. Kirkland, a professed Unitarian, was elected by a great majority of votes;" and, further, we read that, at the last meeting of the Congregational clergy of the State, "upwards of a hundred ministers

declared themselves converts to the new doctrine;" and even this story is eclipsed by what another friend of Mr. Grundy tells him, namely: that, "out of nine Congregational ministers in this town [Boston], eight are either Arians or Humanitarians," and that "nothing like Calvinism is to be heard." *

Such were the representations of intelligent English visitors to Boston, about the year 1811-12. That these gentlemen believed what they reported, we have no reason to doubt; and we should be slow to think that their Boston Unitarian friends, who furnished these glowing statements, deliberately falsified. That all parties misrepresented facts, there can be no doubt; and exaggerated truths, there can be as little doubt. Yet, after all, there must have been a substratum of truth to these stories; they could not have been wholly manufactured. They were, however, so bald and so bold, and in many particulars so inaccurate, that the Rev. Francis Parkman, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Parkman, of the North Unitarian Church, Boston, being in London at the time, felt called on publicly to correct or contradict them; and first, in respect to the number of churches and ministers in Boston, and their religious sentiments, Dr. Parkman says: "We have in Boston twenty-one places for public worship; of these, ten are Congregationalists; . . .

* *Spirit of the Pilgrim*, II, 222-23.

two Episcopalian; . . . three Baptist churches; . . . two Methodist meetings. . . . You see that, of our twenty-one churches, there are seven at least that are Calvinistic or Trinitarian. Indeed, you would hardly look for Unitarianism among our Methodists or Baptists." This statement disposes of the assertion of the gentleman of "high celebrity" that "he did not think there were two persons in Boston who believed in the Trinity."

But it is to the Congregational churches that the account is presumed chiefly to refer. "With the ministers of these," says Dr. Parkman, "I am well acquainted. . . . Of these gentlemen [the members of the Boston Association], about twenty in number, there is only one whom . . . I, or anybody else, would have a right to call an Unitarian. Even this gentleman, when I was in Boston, did not preach Unitarianism systematically. I never heard him express such views of the person of Christ; and it was rather from inference that I could say he held them. Many of his people are widely different from him; and with the exception of two or three, or, at most, four or five heads of families, I may safely say that there is scarcely a parishioner in Boston who would not be shocked at hearing his minister preach the peculiarities of Unitarianism. There is one church in Boston which may perhaps be said to be founded on Unitarian principles. Dr. Freeman, of King's Chapel, with his church, about thirty years ago adopted an amended liturgy. But . . . Dr. Free-

man can hardly be considered as an exception to the great majority of his brethren; for, though on other subjects he is as explicit and unreserved as he is able and intelligent, I never heard him express an Unitarian sentiment; and I believe he carefully avoids it in the pulpit, because it might unnecessarily disturb some of his hearers. There is now one more gentleman in Boston who, with his intimate friends, may, perhaps, be considered an Unitarian; but he maintains the same cautious reserve; and from neither his sermons, his prayers, nor his private conversation, could I infer that he was an Unitarian. Now, even admitting, what I hardly think I have a right to do, that these three gentlemen are Unitarians, to what can all this prudent reserve be ascribed, but to their conviction that the preaching of Unitarian doctrines would be offensive to their hearers and injurious to their usefulness? In truth, the Congregational societies of Boston, as are most of those in the country, are composed of hearers of various opinions; some of them are Calvinists, some of them Arminians; perhaps the greater part, without having minutely investigated, or having any very distinct views of the shades of difference among them, entertain a general liberality of sentiment. But, as I personally know, from instances, too, of those who attend the three gentlemen I have just mentioned, they regard the doctrines of Unitarianism as unscriptural, and inconsistent with the great object and spirit of

Christianity. Of our other seven Congregational ministers, two are very decided Calvinists [Dr. Griffin, of Park Street, and Rev. Mr. Huntington, of the Old South]. . . . Our other five ministers, if I must use so many names, which I do not like, are very far from Unitarians. You say, they are all Arians or Unitarians; as if these were very nearly the same. But, I assure you, they would contend for a very great distinction; and holding, as I believe they do, high and exalted views of the person and mediation of Jesus Christ, resting on the merits of his atonement, his cross and passion, and zealous to pay the honor which they believe due to his name, they would, I think, be very unwilling to be confounded with the followers of Dr. Priestley. Some of them, I know, are utterly opposed to the sentiments and spirit of Unitarianism. You say that Dr. Kirkland is a professed Unitarian, and mention him as if his election to the Presidency of Cambridge University were a decisive proof of the prevalence of your sentiments among us. Dr. Kirkland was formerly one of the ministers of Boston, and, whatever his particular friends may think of his opinions, he never preached these sentiments. Nay, I may venture to say that had Dr. Kirkland been an acknowledged defender of Unitarianism, he would not have been elected to that place." In conclusion, Dr. Parkman says: . . . "In Boston, in New England, and in America at large, we are not,

and permit me to add, as long as we study the Scriptures, I believe we shall not become, converts to your 'new doctrine.' " *

These long extracts from contemporaneous writers are full of interest and instruction to the student of this important epoch of our history. At first view, they may appear contradictory and utterly irreconcilable; and so they are in respect to certain details. But after all, two considerations will help very much to an understanding of them. The truth doubtless lies between these extreme representations. The first consideration is, that Mr. Grundy and his correspondents regarded all anti-Trinitarian and anti-Calvinistic sentiments as essentially Unitarianism — and there can be no question but that they led most who entertained them gradually into downright Unitarianism or Humanitarianism. But Dr. Parkman called nothing Unitarianism but absolute Humanitarianism. Thus, he substitutes, in quoting from Mr. Grundy's correspondent, "Unitarian" for "Humanitarian," as if these were strictly synonymous terms. Yet this was not — is not even now — the popular significance of the words. An "Unitarian," in popular parlance, was, and is, one who disbelieves the doctrine of the Trinity — the proper Divinity of the

* *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, II, 222-27. I have given but a small part of Dr. Parkman's interesting letter; but enough to enable the reader to get the gist of the whole.

Son and of the Holy Ghost. And it was this class of persons who, according to Dr. Parkman, composed "perhaps the greater part" of "the Congregational societies of Boston" and "of those in the country;" called by him persons who "entertain a general liberality of sentiment." This, no doubt, was a true description of the mass of our Boston Congregationalists in 1811. They were anti-Trinitarians, anti-Calvinists; they were afflicted with "a general liberality of sentiment," and were in the broad way to absolute Humanitarianism. Few, however, were willing to class themselves with Dr. Priestley or Mr. Belsham or Mr. Lindsey; who believed "that our Saviour came into the world with the frailties and infirmities of a human being, moral as well as physical;" and that he "suffered death publicly upon the cross, not to appease the wrath of God, not as a satisfaction to Divine Justice, not to exhibit the evil of sin, nor in any sense whatever to make an atonement to God for it;" and who taught that "the Spirit, or Holy Spirit, was not a person, or intelligent being, but only the extraordinary power or gift of God."* . . .

The great body of Boston ministers and people in 1811, though "liberal" in sentiment, were not prepared to adopt these views of Priestley, Belsham, and Lindsey; and they being the acknowledged exponents of that doctrine, Dr. Parkman

* *Panoplist*, xi, 243-46; *American Unitarianism*, 5-10.

could, perhaps, honestly say that not more than three Boston ministers, and four or five heads of families in Boston, within his knowledge, were Unitarians.

But there is another consideration which will help to an understanding of this matter. It is this: among men of "liberal sentiments" there were some who believed in making as much stir as possible about the "new doctrine" — proclaiming it from the housetops, and getting for it all the notoriety and *écclat* possible. This seems to have been the policy of the English Unitarians generally. But in this country the prevailing policy was quite different. Here the clergy generally were averse to any open avowal of their departure from the old Orthodox standards, even where they were quite conscious of having swerved from them, or to any public discussion of the subject. Even those who are admitted by Dr. Parkman to have been Unitarians seldom said in public anything to indicate their precise religious views, because, as he suggests, they feared that "the preaching of Unitarian doctrines would be offensive to their hearers and injurious to their usefulness." And the policy of silence was followed by a much larger number of "liberal" divines, because they really were not consciously Unitarians. They had abandoned the sharp distinctive doctrines of the Trinitarian and Calvinistic system, but they had not really found their exact place in the theological world. These

men, of course, would be opposed to all open agitation of the doctrinal points in question. Dr. Parkman was evidently one of this class; and he spoke for his whole class in his long letter to Mr. Grundy, in contradiction of his zealous correspondent's representations. But these liberal gentlemen, with various "shades of difference among them," were on a sliding platform, and generally found themselves, if they lived long enough, among the open and avowed Unitarians of that period, though some of them never adopted the whole of Priestley's creed, or Lindsey's or Belsham's. They were neither Calvinists of any school, nor Trinitarians, nor Arians even; but their sympathies and affinities were rather with Unitarians than with the Orthodox, and so they were classed by others, if not by themselves.

About this time occurred the first instance of a refusal of a council to ordain a minister on account of his Pelagian and Arian opinions, developed on examination. This was at Deerfield, Massachusetts, and the Rev. Samuel Willard was the minister. But another council was found more compliant, and Willard was ordained. The minority of the church called another council, which advised the Orthodox members to withdraw from the old church.

An episode, and not an unimportant one, in

the history of Unitarianism in Massachusetts, was the attempt, in 1809-12, of the "liberal" members of the Second Parish in Dorchester to force their minister, the Rev. John Codman, to exchange with all the members of the Boston Association. Mr. Codman was ordained December 7th, 1808; and the controversy between a part of his parishioners and himself began within a year from that date, and was not ended before the close of the year 1812. Two councils were called — large and very able; and the best legal assistance in the State was employed on either side. Various charges were made against Mr. Codman, to compel him to submit to the wishes of his opponents or to drive him out of his pulpit and parish. Yet it was openly said by the learned advocate for the parish, that, if the question of exchanges could be satisfactorily adjusted, it would not require five minutes to adjust all the other points. But Mr. Codman insisted on his right to choose his exchanges, and to decline exchanges with any whose doctrinal views he did not regard as sound. He had distinctly announced himself to the church and parish, on receiving a call to the pastorate, as a Trinitarian and a Calvinist; and had requested that *Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns* might be substituted for *Belknap's Collection*, because Watts was emphatically Trinitarian and furnished Doxologies. The church and parish had deliberately chosen Mr. Codman for their minister, with a full

knowledge of his religious sentiments; and his church, almost to a man, assented to his course in regard to exchanges, and wished him to remain with them.* And the parish, with all their efforts, were able to secure only a small majority against their minister. It was a determined resistance, on the part of what were termed liberal men, to the initial steps towards a separation between the Orthodox and the Unitarian churches and ministers. After a protracted contest, the question was finally decided by the casting vote of the moderator of the council, and Mr. Codman was allowed to remain with his church, and to choose whom he would for exchanges.†

*—Of one hundred and fifty church members, all but seven or eight were anxious to retain Mr. Codman as their minister."
—*Panoplist*, x, 294-95.

† The documents relating to this controversy, which attracted the attention of ministers and churches all over the country, are quite voluminous. The church published *Proceedings of the Second Church and Parish in Dorchester*, 8vo, 124 pages. Boston: S. T. Armstrong, 1812. And the "Proprietors of the New South Meeting-House in Dorchester" published their *Memorial to the Ministers of the Boston Association*, and a report on the same, 8vo, 48 pages. Boston: Watson and Bangs, 1813. The *Panoplist* reviewed at great length the entire controversy, in its June and July numbers, 1814, vol. x, pp. 251-81 and 284-307. The two councils which were called to consider the questions at issue between the Dorchester parties were among the ablest ever assembled in this State. A near relative, who was a delegate, with Dr. Samuel Worcester, on both councils, has repeatedly described to the writer the intense interest which every number felt in the proceedings; and how every layman, as well as every minister, availed himself of his privilege to speak twice before the final vote was taken.

About this time occurred the first ejection of an Orthodox pastor and his church by a "liberal" people. On the 5th of September, 1811, the Rev. Jonathan Burr, of Sandwich, was forcibly prevented from entering the pulpit of the Congregational church of Sandwich, the parish, by a majority of three votes (83 to 80), having voted to dismiss him on account of his outspoken and earnest Orthodoxy; and though nine tenths of the church adhered to Mr. Burr and followed him in a body, the Massachusetts courts gave all the church funds and property, even their communion ware, to the insignificant remnant of the old church which adhered to the parish and called themselves the "First Church of Sandwich." *

During the progress of this great controversy on doctrines, the attention of the Congregational churches was called to an ancient document, originally prepared, probably, by Dr. Cotton Mather, bearing date, "Boston, 1 d. 4 m. 1704;" and said to have been "assented to by delegates of the Associations, met according to former agreement, at Boston, September 13th, 1705, to be commended unto the several Associations and ministers in the several parts of the country, to be duly considered," and "further approved and confirmed by a General Convention of the ministers, at Boston, 30 d. 3 m. 1706." This ancient document, which contained the identical proposals to

* *Clark, 244-45.*

establish Consociationism in Massachusetts which John Wise, of Ipswich, attacked with mingled wit, ridicule and argument, and utterly squelched a hundred years and more previously—this very document was brought before the General Association, at their annual meeting in Dorchester, June 28th to 30th, 1814. It was referred to a large committee, who reported favorably on the proposition for the establishment of a system of consociated government of the ministry and churches. In 1816 this report was taken up by the General Association, discussed, and referred to another committee, who presented a "revised report," which was accepted in the following cautious language: "They believe that the Report of the [first] committee on the subject, which is now before the Association, accords in its general principles with the examples and precepts of the New Testament; and in those parts of the Commonwealth in which the sentiments of ministers and churches are favorable to its adoption, this Association have no objection against their proceeding immediately to organize themselves into Consociations upon the general principles of said Report."

And this was the ultimatum of all consociational action in Massachusetts, notwithstanding the labored efforts of writers in the *Panoplist** in

* The original documents may be found in the *Panoplist* for July, 1814, the report of the first Committee, of which Dr. Merri was chairman, is in the *Panoplist* for August, 1815, and the final action of the Association is in the *Minutes* of the Gen-

favor of Consociationism. The movement died of neglect. This was the third time that efforts to introduce this system into Massachusetts had failed.

Though substantial Unitarianism was believed to have been extensively embraced in Massachusetts for many years previous to 1815, it was not till about that year that the system was fairly unveiled in this country as a system which denied and rejected the traditional faith of the early New England churches.* Had this revelation

eral Association held at Leicester, June 25th, 1816, in the *Panoplist* for August, 1816, pp. 367-69.

Several communications in favor of Consociation may be found in the volumes of the *Panoplist* already referred to; vol. xi, pp. 507-16, 537-46; vol. xii, 489-95. See, also, *The Churches' Quarrel Expounded*, by John Wiae, repeatedly published — first in 1710, second edition 1715, third edition 1717, fourth edition 1772, fifth edition 1830 — by the Congregational Board of Publication; with an Introductory Notice by Dr. Joseph S. Clark. *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, iii, 606-12. The first attempt to fasten Consociationism on our churches was made in 1662.

* Dr. Ellis, in his *Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy*, says

"For the sake of convenience and brevity, we shall freely use the terms *Unitarian* and *Orthodox* to designate the two parties. Our own sense of perfect justice to our predecessors would dispose us to use the word *Calvinist* instead of the word *Orthodox*; for it was Calvinism, the real concrete system of the Genevan Reformer, and not the vague and undefined abstraction entitled *Orthodoxy*, which our predecessors assailed" — page 4.

True, it was Calvinism on which the assault was first made; but Trinitarianism, whether Calvinistic or Arminian, was next assailed, and, really, the whole controversy finally revolved around the questions, "What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is he?"

been voluntary and frank, it would have been more satisfactory in the end to both parties in this controversy, more especially to the Unitarians. The revelation, however, was involuntary, and came on this wise: In 1812 the *Memoirs, etc.*, of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, a prominent Unitarian minister of London, were published by the Rev. Thomas Belsham, another English minister of like faith. These *Memoirs*, without doubt, were immediately known and read by prominent American Unitarians. But they were not brought into public notice until April, 1815; not, in fact, until an Orthodox man got hold of the volume and published selections from it in a pamphlet, entitled: "*American Unitarianism, or a Brief History of the progress and present state of the Unitarian Churches in America.*" Compiled from Documents and Information communicated by Rev. James Freeman, D.D., and William Wells, Jr., Esq., of Boston, and from other Unitarian gentlemen in this country. By Rev. Thomas Belsham, Essex Street, London. Extracted from his *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey*, printed in London, 1812, and now published for the benefit of the Christian churches in this country, without note or alteration. Boston: Printed by Nathaniel Willis, No. 76 State Street, 1815." 8vo, 48 pages.

The full title of this important little pamphlet tells the whole story of its character and design. The editor's name is not given, but common re-

port designated the Rev. Dr. Morse, of Charlestown.

This pamphlet fell like a bomb-shell upon the community. It produced an explosion which rent in sunder scores of Congregational churches, and opened a chasm between ministers and churches before associated as one denomination, which has never been closed or bridged over to this day of grace; and never can be, until both parties are prepared to make substantially the same answer to the question, "What think ye of Christ?"

The *Panoplist* seized on this publication with eagerness, and spread out at once its salient points before its readers, as confirmatory of what it had been telling them for years about the insidious character and the rapid growth of Unitarianism in this country; and for which it had been most thoroughly castigated as a traducer of the brethren, and a slanderer, by the "liberal" organs and ministers of the State. The Unitarian batteries were now effectually turned. The *Panoplist* now had its revenge; and it was not backward to take it.* Immediately on the publication of this *Brief History of American Unitarianism*, and the scorching review in the *Panoplist*, there came down upon the community a perfect avalanche of controversial matter. First, Mr. Wells

* See *Panoplist* for June, 1815. Jeremiah Evarts was the responsible editor of the *Panoplist* at that time, and wrote that review.

addressed the *Panoplist*. Then, in July, 1815, came *A Letter to the Rev. Samuel C. Thacher, on the Aspersions of the Panoplist on the Ministers of Boston and the Vicinity*, by William E. Channing.* To this the Rev. Dr. Samuel Worcester, pastor of the Tabernacle Church, in Salem, replied in *A Letter to the Rev. William E. Channing*.† In response to this, Mr. Channing published, in August, 1815, *Remarks on the Rev. Dr. Worcester's Letter to Mr. Channing, etc.*, an octavo pamphlet of thirty-nine pages. Dr. Worcester immediately rejoined, in August, in *A Second Letter to the Rev. William E. Channing*, an octavo pamphlet of forty-four pages; of which two editions were published in 1815. To this, Mr. Channing replied, in October, in a pamphlet of forty-eight pages, which was followed in December by a long and able rejoinder from Dr. Worcester, of eighty pages, which ended the controversy so far as these parties were concerned. "A Layman," however, felt called upon to render to Mr. Channing what aid and comfort he could, in a pamphlet of seventy-two pages: the general character of which may be estimated by its title: *Are you a Christian or a Calvinist?*

Mr. Channing charged the *Panoplist* with being an "injurious publication," given to "falsehood, bitterness, coarseness, and misrepresentations ;"

* *Wells and Lilly*, 8vo, 36 pages, third edition, July

† *Samuel T. Armstrong*, 8vo, 26 pages, second edition, July.

and says to Mr. Thacher : " I bring to the subject a feeling which I cannot well express in words, but which you can easily understand. It is a feeling as if I were degrading myself by noticing the false and injurious charges contained in this review. . . . My self-respect, too, is wounded by coming into contact with assailants who not only deny us the name of Christians, but withhold from us the treatment of gentlemen." *

To appreciate the full force of these expressions, it must be remembered that Jeremiah Evarts was then the acknowledged editor of the *Panoplist*, and its principal writer, and the presumed author of the particular article referred to in this letter; an Orthodox gentleman, who was the peer of Mr. Channing, or any of his " liberal " conferrees, in mental acumen, in scholarly attainments, in Christian character and in gentlemanly qualities.† And yet he is spoken of with loath-

* *A Letter to the Rev. Samuel C. Thacher*, third edition, pp. 3-4.

† Mr. Evarts was educated for a lawyer—as was his distinguished son, Hon. W. M. Evarts, of New York—and practised law in New Haven for several years. He graduated at Yale in 1802. In 1810 he moved to Charlestown, to take charge of the *Panoplist*, which he edited with great ability until 1820, when this magazine was merged in the *Missionary Herald*. From 1812 to 1822 he was treasurer of the American Board, and in 1824 succeeded Dr. Worcester as secretary of the Board. He wrote with great facility, and did an enormous amount of work, though a spare and feeble man in body. He was distinguished for mental acumen, and power of discrimination and analysis; for great accuracy, industry and patience in research, and for candor and fairness in controversy, and self-control and patience

ing and contempt. It was this contemptuous style, adopted by some of the Unitarian leaders in the early stages of the controversy, which provoked retaliatory replies, which they found in turn very provocative to discourteous rejoinders. It is not unlikely that both parties, had they to begin and fight over this battle again, with their present light, would modify somewhat their style of attack and defence, and be able to do it without any essential modification of principle or any conscious dereliction from truth.

The *Panoplist* made no reply to Mr. Channing's caustic and powerful attack upon it until the controversy between him and Dr. Worcester had closed; and this patience and forbearance under what were felt to be grievous wrongs and injustice were perfectly characteristic of its editor, Mr. Evans. He could quietly bide his time, when another man would have been "ready to burst like new bottles." It was not until April and May, 1816, that he published a comprehensive summary of the entire controversy, and a review of Mr. Channing's attack on the *Panoplist*, so searching and caustic and conclusive as left very little opportunity for any respectable reply; and none, we believe, was attempted.

under reproaches, of which he had to bear a heavy load from his "liberal" opponents. Not less distinguished was he for his modesty, humility and fervent piety. His death was glorious as his life had been laborious for Christ.—See an appreciative notice in *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, iv, 500-513.

To return to the Worcester and Channing controversy: It was perhaps the most brilliant of the whole series of combats which marked this period of Congregational history; certainly it was one of the ablest. And there was less that was personal and objectionable in it, and a better tone pervaded it, than might have been anticipated from the spirit of the letter to Mr. Thacher, which provoked the controversy.*

In commenting on this controversy, a very intelligent and impartial judge, Bishop Burgess, says: "Worcester proved himself no unequal antagonist, even to the great abilities of Channing;"† and another, no less a person than "John Quincy Adams, then minister to Russia, after reading all the pamphlets, gave it as his deliberate judgment, that Dr. Worcester had the right side in the discussion, and altogether the advantage over Mr. Channing."

Dr. Worcester's letters were, indeed, fine models of controversial papers; and Mr. Channing's "Remarks" were of a superior order. As a popular and attractive preacher and writer, he had greatly the advantage of Dr. Worcester, who had few popular talents or accomplishments, though a fluent and graceful writer; but as a clear-headed, logical reasoner, and a cool, self-possessed controversialist, Dr. Worcester had

* *Panoplist*, vol. xii, pp 153-78, 203-34.

† Bishop Burgess, in *The Century between 1740 and 1840*, p. 70.

altogether the advantage over his nervous, excitable and impassioned opponent, whose forte was rhetorical effect rather than patient analysis and sober argument.

In 1819 the Rev. Dr. Channing renewed the Unitarian controversy so vigorously pursued by himself and Dr. Worcester in 1815, by publishing a very pointed, not to say violent, anti-Trinitarian and anti-Calvinistic discourse, delivered at Baltimore, at the ordination of Rev. Jared Sparks. In this, he challenges any one "to adduce *one* passage in the New Testament where the word God, unless turned from its usual sense by the connection, does not mean the Father." Professor Stuart, of Andover Theological Seminary, accepted this challenge, and wrote his celebrated "Letters to Dr. Channing." In these he declared that his sole business for ten years had been the study of the Bible, with the simple question before him, "What has God said? What has Christ taught?" He then proceeds to say, "that the very reason, above all other reasons, why I believe Christ to be truly Divine, is, because the connection when he is called God ascribes to him such attributes and works as leave me no room to doubt that the New Testament writers meant to assert his proper divinity." And he tells Dr. Channing frankly: "I am well satisfied that the course of reasoning in which you have embarked, and the principles by which you explain away the divinity of the Saviour, must lead most men who approve their

eventually to the conclusion that the Bible is not of Divine origin, and does not oblige us to belief or obedience." Most truthful, prophetic words!

These letters were never answered; but "A Statement of Reasons for not receiving the Doctrines of Trinitarians," etc., occasioned by them, was published anonymously in the *Christian Disciple*, and afterwards in an octavo pamphlet of sixty-four pages.

In the course of the twenty eventful years (1800-20) now reviewed, forty-five new churches were formed in this State; several, however, were secessions from old bodies which had become Unitarian. This made the whole number of Congregational churches in Massachusetts three hundred and eighty-three; and the number of ministers, not far from the same. Of these churches and ministers, not more than one hundred were Unitarian.*

In 1820 Dr. Woods addressed twelve "Letters to Unitarians;" in which he considered the propriety of a creed — the right of declaring one's own opinions — Orthodox views of God's character — the native character of man — man's de-

* Bishop Burgess says: "The number of Unitarian ministers of Massachusetts in 1815 can hardly have been more than seventy-five; the Orthodox must have been more than two hundred." — *Pages of New Eng. Ecc. Hist.*, 73; *Clark*, 247.

pravity—the doctrine of election—the atonement—Divine influence—and the object of Christ's mission. In connection with this last topic he quotes a long paragraph from one of Dr. Channing's sermons, on the mediation of Christ, and says: "These views are all ours, and we are happy to express them in the simple, elegant and forcible language of this sermon." * The last letter treats particularly of the practical influence of the two systems.† Dr. Ware, of Cambridge, replied to these Letters in a series addressed "To Trinitarians and Calvinists." Dr. Woods answered them; Dr. Ware rejoined; and Dr. Woods published, shortly after, *Remarks on Dr. Ware's Answer*, to which Dr. Ware replied.

It is doubtful whether this controversy made many converts on either side. Sober, thoughtful Trinitarians were probably strengthened and confirmed in their views by the discussion; and so, it is likely, were the same sort of Unitarians. But the masses were very little moved by this serious, courteous, logical discussion of doctrines. Still, it is doubtless true that up to this time, and a little beyond it—say to about 1823-26—Unitarianism steadily and rapidly gained in Massachusetts.

But in the spring of 1823, it had to encounter

* Letter xi.

† These Letters occupy 121 large 8vo pages in *The Works of Leonard Woods, D.D.*, vol. iv, 1-121. Boston. 1850.

a kind of opposition much more difficult to withstand than all the arguments of Doctors of Divinity and Professors of Theology. A revival of religion appeared in Boston and vicinity, and elsewhere; and increased in power, and extended, until the minds and hearts of tens of thousands in the State were seriously and effectually impressed.* In connection with this good work — which seems to have quietly progressed all through the early spring and summer months, so that in August hopes were expressed that the revival, which had then continued six months in Boston and vicinity, would gain new strength rather than decline during the autumn months — the Rev. Lyman Beecher, of Connecticut, was in-

* *The Boston Recorder*, February 1st, 1823, speaks of signs of revival in Boston, and of inquirers appearing in the congregations. These signs became more decisive and interesting during the month, and into March. On the 22d of March, the *Recorder*, though evidently cautious not to exaggerate, reported two hundred and fifty inquirers at Park Street and upwards of one hundred at the Old South. In May (3d), it is said that the revival is daily becoming more powerful, and in June (7th), that every week affords increasing evidence of the special presence of God in the city. In August (9th), nearly a hundred persons had been admitted to the three Orthodox Congregational churches of Boston: Park Street, Old South and Union; and forty-five to the First Church in Charlestown.

At the same time revivals are reported in other parts of Massachusetts, and in Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In December (27th), 1823, the *Recorder* said, tens of thousands of new converts are now rejoicing in hope as the fruits of the revivals of that single year.

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around Boston, which imitate
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gives us a glimpse of the state of things in Massachusetts, which is both interesting and instructive. He says: "The Orthodox have for years been delving in their Sabbath schools and other evangelical efforts; and their zeal and strength and momentum, as to preparing the way for a revival, are noble. . . . The late election has broken, and will in its consequences break forever, their power as an Unitarian political party to proselyte, and annoy, and defend by perverted legislative and judicial influence. This, at least, is the opinion here. They feel their downfall."*

Henry Ware, Jr., felt and acknowledged this reactionary work about this time. "The Orthodox interest," he says, "is full of energy; and an assault is making on us which it will not be easy to repel. Every voice and every arm is needed here."† And the Orthodox certainly had provocatives enough, independently of purely religious considerations, to put forth every energy to overthrow the pretentious, lordly, partisan power and influence of Unitarianism in Boston and Massachusetts; for Dr. Beecher did not exaggerate when he said, "The Unitarians, with all their principles of toleration, were as really a persecuting power, while they had the ascendancy, as ever existed. Wives and daughters were forbidden to

* *Autobiography of Rev. Lyman Beecher, D.D.*, 1, 517-18; *Gillett in Hist. Magazine*, 12, 302-04.

† *Life of Henry Ware, Jr.*, 196, in *Gillett*, 304.

attend our meetings, and the whole weight of political, literary and social influence was turned against us, and the lash of ridicule laid on without stint." *

The literal truth of these representations can be attested by multitudes of living men and women. Many an old man retains to-day a vivid recollection of the petty proscription, not to say persecution, to which he and other members of Orthodox families were subjected in their youth; and recalls but too readily some of the extreme measures which were adopted by the enemies of Orthodoxy to keep their families and dependents from hearing evangelical preaching and falling under Orthodox and revival influences.

The political influence of Unitarianism was at this time so great as to tempt aspiring young men to seek its friendship, even if they disbelieved its doctrines. In business, as well as in political and social relations, this influence was mighty in Massachusetts; so mighty that it required very decided principle and great energy and courage in an enterprising young man, ambitious of success and distinction, to resist the current, and make headway in society as an open and decidedly Orthodox man; especially in Boston and the larger towns of the State.†

* *Autobiography*, ii, 77, in *Quincy*, 304

† It is within my personal recollection, that the second town in the State for population, wealth and political influence had but one practising lawyer of Orthodox sentiments, and only one

So notorious was the fact that Unitarianism was an active and controlling power in the politics of Massachusetts, that it was said in our public prints: "Any person, to attain to any of the honors of this State, must be a thorough Federalist and Unitarian. If they have the blotch of Democracy or Calvinism about them, they must bid adieu to public honors or to Massachusetts. The Catholics are not more exclusive in Spain than are Mr. Otis and his associates in Boston." *

And yet, at this very time, Trinitarians in Massachusetts were as three to one Unitarian. And it was to prevent the various evangelical denominations from uniting, and to keep the unbelieving masses in opposition to Orthodoxy, that they were accused of plans and plots and purposes and efforts to destroy the liberties of the churches, by erecting tribunals for trying and punishing as heresies, "that is, as crimes, the supposed errors and mistakes of ministers and private Christians." And it was said, "If the Orthodox party had now the civil power in their hands, for which they

or two physicians of the same faith; while there were at least six lawyers and two judges and about as many doctors of the Unitarian faith. And thus it was all over the State — or, at least, the eastern part of the State.

* Quoted in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, December number, 1833, p. 642; where may be found much more to the same effect. Even within these latter days, a distinguished Unitarian, for some years governor of this State, has been heard to declare, unequivocally, that he should prefer the triumph of Catholicism in Massachusetts to Orthodoxy.

have shown of late a great banking, . . . they would not permit a man to vote in civil concerns unless he was a church member." * And again: "There is to be a combination among the most powerful sects, to seize the civil power; and the use they may hereafter make of it is to be sought in the calamitous history of Christendom for the last fifteen hundred years." † And still further: "There now appears among the more ambitious and designing leaders of the [Orthodox] party a disposition to form a powerful conspiracy to crush the growth of liberal opinions. . . . We doubt whether the Inquisition itself was more to be dreaded than that power. . . . The Orthodox clergy are too generally spiritual lords, grasping at power, and ruling the churches with a rod of iron." ‡

The above may be taken as samples of the current representations of leading Unitarian divines, laymen and periodicals.

A flagrant illustration of the way Unitarianism controlled legislative action is furnished by the history of Amherst College. This institution was opened in 1821, to furnish collegiate advantages

* *The Recent Attempt*, p. 17. Mr. John Lowell was the reputed author.

† *Christian Examiner*, in *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, iv, 118.

‡ See *Spirit of the Pilgrims* for January, 1831, pp. 68-69; March, 1831, pp. 117-60; June, 1831, pp. 326-33.

to the sons of Orthodox men, where the faith of their fathers would be respected and inculcated, and neither overt nor covert means employed to turn the hearts of the children from their fathers.

Beginning with about fifty students, in the autumn of 1821, the college grew in favor with the community, and, correspondingly, in the number of its students, until it had one hundred and twenty-six in its four classes, in the winter of 1823; when the trustees applied to the legislature for a charter. The answer was a prompt refusal. Nothing daunted, the trustees renewed this application in January, 1824. An animated debate followed, and the Senate voted to grant the petition; but in the House, the Unitarians were still strong enough to defeat it by a small majority. A third time the trustees had to go to the legislature before they could even obtain a committee to visit Amherst and see for themselves that this infant institution had a strong claim on the State, not only for a charter, but for pecuniary assistance, to enable the trustees to furnish to the Orthodox people of this Commonwealth a modicum of the advantages of old Harvard College, of which the Unitarians had complete possession. The committee reported in favor of the institution, and in 1825 a charter was granted. But every effort for successive years to obtain pecuniary aid from the legislature was defeated, until

the friends of the college were driven back upon their own resources, and a private subscription of \$50,000 was made in 1832, and needful buildings and other conveniences and necessities were provided.

CHAPTER XVII.

UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY CONTINUED—AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION, 1825—"THE SPIRIT OF THE PILGRIMS"—REV. PARSONS COOKE AND CHIEF JUSTICE PARKER—CONTROVERSY CONCLUDED—THE OUTCOME.

UNITARIANS having now become a distinct sect, separate from, independent of, and opposed to the old Congregational body of New England—though many Unitarians were reluctant to admit this, and opposed every recognition of the fact—they felt the need of "more systematic union and a concentration of labors, by which interest may be awakened, confidence inspired and efficiency produced;" and therefore formed, in May, 1825, "The American Unitarian Association." This combined in itself the character of an ordinary ministerial and ecclesiastical association, and the work of a missionary society, home and foreign; a tract and book concern; and, generally, of an active Unitarian *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*.*

*"The objects for which the Association was originally formed, as set forth at the time of its organization, were these. First, to collect and diffuse information respecting the state of Unitarian Christianity in our country; second, to produce union, sympathy, and cooperation among liberal Christians; third, to publish and distribute books and tracts, inculcating correct views of religion, in such form and at such price as shall

This movement originated in the conviction of the Unitarians that, to maintain their position in the community, all their wisest and combined efforts would be required. The whole Orthodox denomination, and, in fact, Trinitarians of every these men, as deniers of the common faith of Christendom. If they would stand, and, above all, make progress, against these opponents, Unitarians felt that they too must organize, and get the inspiration and courage which union and combination impart to men engaged in a common cause; and hence the organization of the American Unitarian Association, which has really done more to sustain and propagate the faith of its members than any other of their various organizations—perhaps more than all of them combined.

For about twenty-five years the Association continued to publish almost monthly tracts; it has also given to the public a large number of bound volumes of books;* it has supported for a

afford all an opportunity of being acquainted with Christian truth; fourth, to supply missionaries, especially in such parts of our country as are destitute of a stated ministry; fifth, to adopt whatever other measures may hereafter seem expedient—such as contributions in aid of building churches."—*Address of the President of the Unitarian Association, Semi-Cent. Celebration, 1875, p. 2.*

*The single agency on which the greatest dependence placed seems to be the circulation of Channing's comp. works. The association has published an edition in one vol. and is giving it broadcast.

limited time quite a number of home missionaries in different parts of the country; also, for many years, a mission in Calcutta. But its most conspicuous missionary work was that of the "Ministry at Large," begun in 1826, and continued for eight years in the city of Boston. The Association has taken special interest in the two Unitarian theological schools of this country, at Cambridge, Mass., and at Meadville, Pennsylvania, and has afforded aid to students in them in preparing for the ministry. The denomination is also indebted to this Association for its National Conference, held first in 1865, and for its local Conferences, organized and arranged by its secretary. In these and various other ways, the American Unitarian Association has contributed largely to the prosperity of the cause which it fosters. It began in feebleness, and has never had the support that might reasonably have been expected from the denomination. Its first year's receipts were less than thirteen hundred dollars; and its largest annual income, that of 1874-75, but little exceeded forty thousand dollars.*

It is a singular and noticeable fact, that at the very time Unitarianism was so prevalent in Massachusetts, and was actually a controlling power in the State — making governors, appointing judges, electing legislators and filling public

* *Sens-Cent. Report.*

offices — at that very time, it was hardly known out of New England; and had but a feeble existence even here, except in Massachusetts.

In 1826 the *Christian Examiner*, the principal organ of the Unitarian denomination, claimed only one flourishing church in Maine, and two or three feeble ones; three or four churches in New Hampshire, one in Vermont, one in Rhode Island, one in Connecticut, one in New York, five or six in Pennsylvania, one in Baltimore, one in the District of Columbia, and one in South Carolina: twenty-one in all the States of the Union outside of Massachusetts. And even here it was said, "Unitarianism was not heartily and intelligently embraced by one half of the Unitarian societies, nor by one third of the members of the other half;"* and though it can now claim many more churches than it could in 1826, it has never realized the sanguine expectations of its early advocates. Orthodoxy has not become "a thing of the past," nor has Unitarianism become "the prevailing type of religion," as was anticipated.†

Early attempts were made to introduce Unitarianism into New York. It has generally been supposed that Dr. Channing's sermon, preached there, in a private house, April 25th, 1819, was

* *Buryess*, 80-81.

† This is freely admitted by Dr. Ellis, in his *Half-Century of Unitarianism*, pp. 6-7; though he thinks the Orthodox were as much disappointed in the result of the controversy as were the Unitarians.

the first open preaching of the doctrine in New York City. But it seems that, as early as January, 1794, a Mr. John Butler, an English Unitarian, appeared there, engaged the "Large Assembly Room," in Courtland Street, near Broadway, and began a course of lectures to propagate his "liberal" principles; and that he kept up these lectures for some months, challenging the reverend clergy to attend and controvert his views. But they seem generally to have preferred to let him alone, and not give importance to his proceedings by publicly disputing with him. They, however, invited him to "a private conference," which he declined, apprehending, as he said, that it would be attended with no "public benefit." His lectures gained him some notoriety, and several cards from him and others appeared in the newspapers of the city, relative to them. Butler's cards are generally headed "Unitarian Society," leaving it to be inferred that there was then such an organization in New York; though it is not said distinctly that this was the case. There certainly could not have been an organization of any great importance or permanence, else it would not have been left for a curious antiquarian to discover, within a few years, its very existence casually, while turning over the files of an old newspaper for another purpose.* Mr. Butler was probably

* See "Origin of Unitarianism in New York City," by Colonel Thomas F. DeVoe, in the *Historical Magazine* for August, 1859, pp. 76-78.

one of those roving English Unitarians or Arians who, like Hazlitt — who gave the Rev. Mr. Freeman, of Boston, so much aid and comfort — was a sort of "Free Lance," who travelled at his will and went to war at his own charges, and in due time disappeared as he came, without record or observation.*

The character and history of the periodicals of any particular period usually mark pretty distinctly the prominent peculiarities of that period. Thus, the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, a monthly periodical, established in 1828, in place of the *Panoplist*, which for fifteen years (1805-20) was the organ of the Orthodox of New England, marks an era in the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts. The avowed object and end and the very distinctive character of this new religious periodical indicate with sufficient plainness the peculiarities of this period during which it flourished;

* Mr. Hazlitt was an English Unitarian minister, who visited Boston in May, 1784, and there preached, and exerted his influence in various ways to promote Unitarianism, and not only in this neighborhood, but as far eastward as Hallowell, Maine. Mr. Freeman said of him: "I bless the day when that honest man first landed in this country." Among other things which this "honest man" did in Boston was to persuade "several respectable ministers to omit the Trinitarian Doxology" — *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, II, 291. It was Hazlitt's influence that converted Freeman's congregation into a Unitarian church, and secured the "reform" of the Book of Common Prayer to a Unitarian book. — *Monthly Repository*, III, 308, in *Gillett*, 231.

especially when considered in connection with the *Christian Examiner*, published at the same time in Boston, and confessedly the most important Unitarian publication in the United States. The *Spirit of the Pilgrims* was established to explain and defend Orthodoxy, and to expose the errors and dangerous tendencies of Unitarianism. "Unitarians," say the editors, in their Introductory Article, "have a magazine published here, upon which they spare no labor, and which is constantly employed in promoting their cause. We must have the means of meeting them on this ground."

And the editors justify their course, in making the defence of Orthodoxy against Unitarianism the great end of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, by the consideration that "the Unitarian controversy, as it is now conducted in Great Britain, Germany and the United States, embraces nearly all the great points of fundamental truth and fundamental error. It is, as we firmly believe, one of the last great controversies which is to afflict the church." They add: "The history of this controversy, so far as it has already proceeded, does not furnish any ground of alarm for the future; but in order to make a proper use of advantages, as well as to correct misrepresentations, it is necessary that the Orthodox should have some regular channel of communicating with the public."*

* Introductory Article, *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, t. 6-7.

These were the views of the leading Orthodox men of the period, in and around Boston; and to the support of this periodical, much of the talent and learning, and, above all, the effective, working ability of Orthodoxy at once rallied. For six memorable years it fought valiantly for the cause it had espoused. Bold and uncompromising in its support of Orthodoxy, fearless and unsparing in its exposure and condemnation of what were regarded as the errors and assumptions of Unitarianism, it made itself felt and feared by its opponents. Its trumpet notes gave no uncertain sound. It called all who loved the faith of the fathers to the battle for which it was ever girded and ready. Up to about this time (1825-28), Orthodoxy had stood very much on the defensive; but now it was called to assume the offensive, and to carry the war into the enemy's country. The whole life of Orthodoxy was quickened; new churches in large numbers were formed; new and aggressive movements were inaugurated; and the whole country was astir with religious activity, which was crowned, at length, by one of the most extensive and powerful revivals of religion ever experienced in this country; of which some account may be found in the chapter on Revivals in another part of this history.

The increase of Congregational churches in the State, between 1820 and 1830, was great and rapid. Ninety-seven in all were organized. Of

these, nearly two thirds were secessions from Unitarian bodies, once Orthodox; and thirty were newly-formed Unitarian churches. The whole number of Congregational churches in Massachusetts at the close of this decade was, therefore, four hundred and seventy-seven.*

In the year 1828, there suddenly arose a sharp discussion between a young Orthodox minister and a distinguished Unitarian magistrate of Massachusetts, on Unitarianism as a Political Power in the State. This, to be sure, was not a new topic. It had been repeatedly alluded to by Orthodox writers and speakers in previous years; but now it evoked unusual interest and attention, because it was quickly understood that the chief justice of the Supreme Court was the Unitarian champion. The controversy arose after this manner: At the annual Fast, April 8d, 1828, the Rev. Parsons Cooke, pastor of the Congregational Church, East Ware, Massachusetts, preached a sermon to his people, which was thought to be worth publishing, on *Unitarianism an Exclusive System; or the Bondage of the Churches that were planted by the Puritans.*

* Clark, chap. 21. *The American Quarterly Register*, anno 1831, gives a list of four hundred and twenty-three Congregational ministers in the State, of whom from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty were considered Unitarians. The whole number of churches and societies, according to this list, was about four hundred and fifty two, of which one hundred and thirty were considered Unitarian. Vol. III, 196-99.

Some of the leading positions of the preacher were, that "the political influence of our Commonwealth is made to promote sectarian purposes;" that the chief offices of trust and profit have been for a long time monopolized by one denomination of religionists, . . . and that embracing not more than one quarter of the citizens of the State;" and that these sectarian office-holders "have used the influence which their offices gave them to exalt those who would favor the interests of their sect" and to depress Orthodoxy; and this, he asserted, was true in relation to the executive, the judicial, and even the legislative department of the government. The governors of Massachusetts had for successive years been Unitarians; all the judges, with a solitary exception, were of the same sect, as indeed might be inferred from some of their judicial decisions; and even the legislature had been so far controlled by sectarianism as to adopt unusual and illiberal measures towards Orthodoxy.

This discourse fell like a bomb-shell among the Unitarian State officials. It was denounced in no measured terms for its impertinence, falseness and impudence; and the author became at once a marked man. It was nevertheless felt to have broached so grave a matter, and one so likely, if not quieted speedily, to affect numerous official interests, that an immediate answer from one of the ablest of their number was deemed necessary. Accordingly, there appeared in the *Christian Ec-*

aminer a labored reply to the sermon, which was regarded as very conclusive, and which, though anonymous, was announced to be the work of "a magistrate," in order to give it weight and currency; and which was soon understood to be from the pen of one of the very chiefest of the State officials — no less a dignitary than the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

The judge, however, as all candid men must admit, made a poor show of himself as a sectarian controversialist. He lost his temper at the outset, and committed the serious mistake of avowing his contempt for the man with whom he nevertheless condescended to dispute. He assumed to treat the sermon as the production of one of the "inexperienced subalterns" of the Orthodox party, who had made a premature onset before the wise heads of his party were prepared for battle. He spoke of him as "a young man recently settled under the influence of a very honest but not very intelligent gentleman who is notorious for his spirit of proselytism." He treated him as a libeller, broadly intimated that he was a deliberate liar and slanderer, circulating false statements "for the meanest of all purposes;" while his sermon, as a whole, was characterized as a production "distinguished for its grossness." The judge assumed a magisterial air, and reproved the preacher as he would an impertinent attorney, and questioned him as he would an unruly witness at his bar; and he took

the liberty to include the whole Orthodox denomination in the same general condemnation. He told the preacher that he had made "a sermon from the sacred desk a vehicle of abuse against the civil fathers of the State;" which might entitle him "to great praise among those who would overthrow the institutions by which the State is upheld, in order to erect on their ruins a power which by you and them may be deemed a blessing, though in all ages it has been found a curse."

To the charge that there must have been manœuvring on the part of Unitarian leaders to secure for their party so large a proportion of the executive appointments, the judge says—and very truly: "Now this is a serious charge, but [adds] so far from being true, it requires charity to believe that you yourself did not know it to be false." In reply to the assertion that the legislature had for several years, in all matters of religion, manifested an exclusive spirit, and that acts of incorporation had been withheld from literary institutions and other bodies because of their Orthodoxy, the judge exclaims: "Is this true? Did you, sir, believe what you preached?" He then continues: "Having thus traduced the executive and legislature, this reverend champion of the religion of peace, charity and order next assails the judicial department. 'The same sectarian spirit has *profaned* the temple of justice'—and then he charges the supreme tribunal of justice with confiscating the property of churches,

robbing the altar of its furniture, etc." This was a tender point with the judge, and he responds with warmth: "No body of men unclothed with the vestments of religion, no individual, however passionate or vulgar, has ever used such language as this towards any, even the lowest of our courts of justice. It was reserved for this meek minister of our meek religion to arraign in this vituperative style a tribunal which has ever enjoyed the confidence of the community."

In relation to what had been said in the sermon about Harvard College, the chief justice enters upon the "cross" in questioning the young man: "Pray tell me, who am not a casuist, is the whole system of morals discarded from the Orthodox theology? Are false assertion, calumny, concealed but active poison, lawful weapons in spiritual warfare? Is abuse of public agents, seditious appeals to the people against the government, open reviling of the law, sanctioned by the Calvinistic creed? Is the old maxim of the Jesuits, that all means are lawful to promote a good end, admitted by you in theory, as it seems to be in practice? If so, you are consistent; if not so, you disparage the cause you would maintain; and here allow me to say, that I cannot but think that the wise heads of your party had rather you would not have come out, at least so soon. They are not prepared for battle, and there is some danger that the victory may be lost by the too eager and premature onsets of some of their inexperienced subalterns."

These extracts will give the reader a sample of the style and temper of the magistrate's review of the young minister's Fast Day sermon. In the sequel, his honor learned to appreciate more justly the character and ability of the "young man" whom he had undertaken to browbeat; and if he did not wish, before the "young man" had done with him, that he had taken Solomon's advice — "Leave off contention before it be meddled with" — he had less sensitiveness to a public scourging than the average of great men have. Parsons Cooke was not a man to be intimidated by dictatorial airs, nor put down by loud talk and sharp questions; and accordingly — as might have been anticipated — he promptly accepted the judge's challenge, answered his questions, and made a very able general reply to his letter, in a pamphlet of thirty-eight compact pages. The very first sentence in this reply shows fully his appreciation of the controversy, and gives the "honorable magistrate" a specimen of what might be expected from this unknown preacher: "Sir, should it seem strange that 'a young man' of humble rank should presume to address a public letter to you — one of the honorable magistrates of our Commonwealth, whose words have been taken for oracles, and whose opinions for the end of strife — I beg that you would look for the reason to another fact, at least equally strange; and this is, that the very magistrate whom I now address, one whom it most becomes to sustain a

reputation above suspicion, and who needs the confidence of all the people, should so unadvisedly descend to the position in which he now stands before the public; the position in which the man who most wishes him evil would, doubtless, most wish him to present himself. . . . He volunteers to take the attitude of a public partisan, with no provocation except that 'a weakly, foolish' production, as some Unitarians style it, had appeared from the pen of 'a young man,' an 'inexperienced subaltern,' which he apprehended would displease the party from which it came; of course a production from which nothing was to be feared." With this introduction, Mr. Cooke proceeds to defend and reinforce the positions and statements of his sermon.

The first thing noticed is the abundant use made by the judge of the *argumentum ad terrorem*, which is thought to come very unseemly from the pen that writes largely of "free inquiry:" "Unitarians have vaped upon no point more largely than upon the rights of free discussion; and now, no sooner does 'an inexperienced subaltern' . . . open his mouth on a subject that they are unwilling to have broached, than he is told *ex cathedra* that it is time for him to quit."

"The stale complaint' that the Orthodox were designing to set up an established religion" is next noticed, as a charge not believed by any intelligent Unitarian, and as something thrown out solely with a view to popular effect, and to

cast odium upon the Orthodox. But the respondent thinks it a very noticeable fact that "a small sect," which had possessed themselves of nearly the whole political influence in the State, should, from the high places of power, be pouring down upon "the vassals of their sectarian will 'the charges of religious and political treason.'"

He next explains how one of the eight judges of the Massachusetts courts chanced to be an Orthodox man: it was to prevent him from being governor. He then enlarges more fully than he had in his sermon, on the sectarianism of the Massachusetts legislature, which refused a charter to a ministerial fund, for the acknowledged reason that the fund was intended for the support of an Orthodox minister; which opposed the enlargement of the powers of the trustees of Andover Theological Seminary, and for a long time refused it, and finally granted it only on condition that every sect should have equal rights and privileges at Andover with those for whom the institution was specially designed, and from the friends of whom all its funds had been collected. In regard to the final grant of a charter to Amherst College, fettered by certain conditions, humiliating and oppressive, Mr. Cooke asserts that even this favor was due to the hope that the same party, by means of these added conditions, might ultimately get possession of Amherst College, which had long controlled Harvard.

The next topic touched upon was that, doubtless, which chiefly stirred the indignation of the chief justice, and prompted his ill-advised and undignified attack on Mr. Cooke — "the famous legal decision" in regard to the Dedham church. The judge is pretty roughly handled for his attempt to escape the odium of his "cruel decision" by an "evasion" of the real question at issue. "It is *church* property of which I spoke," and which is made over to the parish by the decision in question; "and you attempt to escape by representing the case to be that of 'a half-dozen members of a large congregation running away with the *parish* property.' Is this, sir, a specimen of your fairness? . . . It may come out that even one of our learned judges is speaking through this Letter; and if it should, what will the people think of this obliquity in your statement of the case? . . . If that should prove to be the fact, what confidence can they hereafter have in the correctness of judicial decisions?"*

He next comes to the Hollis Professorship, and

* For a calm and masterly review of Judge Parker's "famous decision" in the Dedham case, here referred to by Mr. Cooke, see the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, i, 57, 113, etc., particularly pp. 120-40. This most able and unanswerable exposure of the unsoundness of the judge's positions, and the unfairness of his conclusions in reference to the nature and rights of Congregational churches, was written by the editor of that Review, the Rev. Enoch Pond. It is not an unnatural supposition that the judge was smarting from the effects of this review when he got hold of Mr. Cooke's comparatively innocent little sermon;

reiterates his charge against the incumbent of that office as a Universalist. Having thus, as he humbly conceived, answered, "and more than answered," the magistrate's queries and arguments, Mr. Cooke proceeds to adduce additional proofs of the statements made in his sermon. And here he most adroitly and effectively uses the judge's own Letter as a convincing proof of the truth of his leading position: "Can it be doubted that Unitarians make use of office and officers to advance the interests of their sect, when one of the 'first magistrates' is brought forward to pour forth his invective and spleen through the pages of one of the most decidedly sectarian periodicals in the country—and that, not for the purpose of self-defence—against 'an inexperienced subaltern,' a 'premature onset,' which had displeased the party from which it came? No, our 'first magistrates' are not wont to undertake a public vindication from charges so 'distinguished for grossness,' and coming from a source so insignificant. This Letter has a higher bearing and a wider range than self-defence. It is one of the most violent philippics against Orthodoxy and the Orthodox that the *Examiner* ever brought into the world."

and that this explains the extreme irritation of his manner in treating the sermon.

See Judge Shaw's view of this decision in Ellis' *Half-Century of Unitarianism*.

"Another proof similar to this was exhibited soon after the sermon was published, by the Hon. Judge Story's flaming tirade against trust deeds, in the Unitarian Association." A third was found in the very excitement which this sermon has produced — a proof that Unitarians felt it to be true essentially.

In support of the charge that there had been secret management in filling State offices with Unitarians, the fact is adduced that, though there was little or no acknowledged Unitarianism in the State prior to 1815, yet almost immediately on this it was found that nearly all the influential State offices were in possession of this sect. More than three fourths of the people of Massachusetts were Trinitarians, and yet Unitarians were found possessed of more than nine tenths of the political influence of the State! Could this possibly have been a mere accident? Could it have been brought about without much and careful management on the part of the leaders of that sect?

Professor Norton's remarkable avowal made in 1813 is adduced as still further proof that political power was from the beginning specially aimed at by leading Unitarians. In the *General Repository* for April, 1813, edited by Mr. Norton, and published in Cambridge, Massachusetts — the headquarters of Unitarianism — he asks and answers the following question: "In this Republican country, what is the best policy for a layman wishing the votes of the people to adopt in regard to his

religious profession? The answer in New England is very apt to be, that Calvinism is the best aid to an ambitious man. Our answer, however, is opposed to this. We believe, both from theory and fact, that Catholic Christianity [Unitarianism] is better adapted to conciliate the affections of the people as a body than any form of sectarianism. If this be so, it will follow that Catholic Christians are more likely than sectarists to obtain such political situations as will give them influence and power." . . .

Another proof of the preacher's position was found in the *Christian Calendar, or Unitarian Almanac* for 1829, where the electors of the Commonwealth are told: "If you are properly awake to the signs of the times, you will cautiously watch the movements of the wily sectarians of the day, and see to it that your State officers and public men generally, are chosen, not for their attachment to modern Orthodoxy or to any sectarian creed, but for their enlarged, generous and independent principles;" or, in plain English, that they are Unitarians in sympathy.

In conclusion, Mr. Cooke considered somewhat at length the way Cambridge College came under the control of Unitarians, and how it had been employed against Orthodox men and Orthodox sentiments.

The entire reply to the "magistrate's" attack on the humble author of the Fast Day sermon is confessedly very able, and, in the judgment of

many impartial persons, quite conclusive; at all events, it concluded the controversy, as the magistrate never attempted any reply.

If it should be thought that undue prominence has been given to this episode in the great Unitarian controversy, it must be remembered that it excited at the time unusual interest, that it presented a remarkable phase of the controversy, and probably did more to awaken public attention to the evil complained of than everything that had been previously said or done. True, it brought on Mr. Cooke a large measure of personal odium. He was regarded and treated by many as the very personification of all that is illiberal and repulsive in Calvinism, and unlovely in a controversialist; a reputation which, though utterly undeserved and unjust, he bore to the day of his death, unrepiningly, even cheerfully; conscious of having acted uprightly in this controversy, and of having spoken, if plainly, yet not maliciously, the simple truth, with a justifiable and good motive. He was therefore quite ready to meet the consequences of his deliberate act, and never allowed himself to complain of the undue wrath of those whom he had offended by telling them unvarnished truth.

In 1830 the Rev. Dr. Channing published a volume of his *Discourses, Reviews and Miscellanies*, which attracted public attention and was much read. This volume abounded in represen-

tations of Orthodox doctrines and men which were anything but flattering or true. So palpably unfair and even false were some of these statements, that Professor Stuart, of Andover, felt constrained to utter his indignant denial and protest, and to demand of Dr. Channing the proof, or a withdrawal of his injurious charges.* But the doctor declined to do either—as might have been expected of him; for Dr. Channing, with all his gifts and graces and eloquence, was essentially a partisan. He aimed at popular effects—at making converts to his views; and was not very careful nor fair in his uses of means to accomplish his end. He sought particularly to prejudice men against Orthodoxy, by representing its doctrines and its friends in the most unamiable light; while he glorified “liberal” men and their views.

Dr. Channing’s speech at the fourth anniversary of the American Unitarian Association affords a good illustration of these remarks. In speaking of “the cause of religious and intellectual freedom,” he said: “With this cause Unitarianism was closely connected. It was a system hallowed and pervaded by the spirit of inquiry. Through this it had been restored, after a long night, to the world, and to this it was devoted. Other denominations had the name of religious

* In *A Letter to William E. Channing, D.D., on the Subject of Religious Liberty*, 8vo, 62 pages.

freedom; among Unitarians it was a reality. Most Protestant sects were aiming to precipitate creeds framed in the darkness of the sixteenth century, if not in darker ages, to stop the human mind where it is, to arrest its upward and forward movements. Among Unitarians, there was an earnest desire for clearer light, a striving for wider and nobler views. Freedom and progress were their watch-words. The attempts to suppress Unitarianism were of a character which the friends of Christian and intellectual freedom must abhor and ought to withstand. No doctrine, true or false, should be suppressed by tyrannical means; such means, unhappily, are combined against Unitarianism. There is a coalition extending far and wide to put it down—to put down an opinion by joint clamor, by joint wealth, by joint appeals to the passions of the ignorant, by exciting an odium which might prejudice the dearest interests of its advocates by overwhelming them with a torrent of public scorn. No matter, in this view, whether Unitarianism be true or false; it must not and shall not be put down in this way."

Now, this was said in 1829, and is quoted approvingly by the executive committee of the Unitarian Association, at their twenty-fifth anniversary, and referred to with approval by the same committee at their semi-centennial celebration, in 1875.

Setting aside the boastful self-complacency of this harangue, which tempts one to retort, in the

derisive language of the patriarch: "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom will die with you," it is difficult to persuade one's self that Dr. Channing, in his unexcited moments, could have believed in his own declarations — that there existed a "coalition" which by "tyrannical means" intended to overwhelm Unitarians "with a torrent of public scorn!" Did he not know that, at that very moment, there were thousands of poor, outcast Orthodox people in the State, who were struggling for life against the "joint clamor," "joint wealth," and "joint appeals to the passions of the ignorant," which their Unitarian neighbors were pouring out upon them? And yet he talks as though the rich and cultured and proud and victorious Unitarians were the persecuted and suffering party.

But, whatever excuse may be made for Dr. Channing's impassioned representations in the heat of this bitter controversy, it is not easy to find a satisfactory one for the committees of these latter days, in resuscitating these groundless and absurd accusations against Orthodox men of 1829.

Dr. Channing was a fluent and graceful and very effective declaimer against Orthodox men and doctrines. He was entirely at home when caricaturing Orthodoxy or poetizing over Unitarianism. But to analyze carefully his statements when speaking of the Orthodox, and to confine himself to simple, unadorned, or unperversed facts and truths, without regard to rhetorical and pop-

ular effect, was strange, difficult, distasteful, not to say impossible work for this admired writer and leader. And he would neither substantiate his charges nor withdraw them. But a champion was found in the person of the Rev. Bernard Whitman, a young Unitarian minister of Waltham, Massachusetts, who rushed into the arena, eager for a fight, and ready to undertake the justification of Dr. Channing's charges against Orthodoxy. *Two Letters to the Rev. Moses Stuart, on the Subject of Religious Liberty*, by Bernard Whitman, containing 162 octavo pages, closely printed, were published and widely circulated, and much praised by Unitarian periodicals, in support of Dr. Channing's sweeping charges against Orthodoxy.

These *Letters* were made up largely of misapprehensions and misrepresentations of Orthodox doctrines and usages, and an extensive collection of disreputable statements, stories and reports affecting Orthodox men and their doings, private and public; making quite a complete thesaurus of the worst things that were thought or said about those obnoxious people and their doctrines, practices and general characteristics. Though abusive, and to a large extent slanderous, these *Letters* have their place in history, as illustrations of the state of feeling among Unitarians towards Orthodoxy at that time; and they were not without their uses in showing to Orthodox people their faults and failings, how they were

watched, and how their doings and sayings might prejudice men against evangelical doctrines. Mr. Whitman should have taken as his motto the words of Jeremiah's enemies: "Report and we will report it."

These *Letters* were spiced with scandal enough to make them attractive reading to many persons, and they ran speedily through two or more editions; but they were followed so quickly by a caustic and exhaustive review of them, in the March number of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* for 1831, that their power to do evil was much abridged,* and their influence quite ephemeral. It was wonderful how quickly and thoroughly Mr. Whitman's statements and stories could be followed up, contradicted, explained and deprived of their venom and power to do injury, considering how numerous they were, how indefinite

* This review was written by Enoch Pond, afterwards the venerable President of Bangor Theological Seminary, Maine. He was then editor of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, many of the leading articles of which he wrote, amounting to nearly half of the original contents of the first five volumes. He wrote all the Letters on the Introduction and Progress of Unitarianism in New England, and all the articles on the Rights of Congregational Churches; with many others of great value. It is not necessary to say to any one who ever knew Dr. Pond that he was, and still is, though now quite advanced in years, one of the clearest thinkers and ablest writers in New England, so far as matter is concerned. He was a worthy follower of Jeremiah Evans in the editorial chair. The religious periodicals of New England have had few editors who in all respects equalled these two men.

many of them were, and how seldom his authorities were given. The reviewer describes the *Letters* as "made up, to a considerable extent, of stories new and old, original, selected and invented;" and "of these stories," he adds, "we have no hesitation in saying that a great proportion are thoroughly false; and the remainder, if founded originally on fact, are so colored and exaggerated that, as they stand, they can no longer be said to be true." The reviewer winds up his tedious work of following up Mr. Whitman's stories and correcting his mistakes, misrepresentations and perversions of the truth, by enumerating one hundred and fifteen of "the most palpable misstatements and misrepresentations" in these two letters to Professor Stuart.

This review was extensively read — being published in pamphlet form in two or more editions — besides circulating widely in the periodical for which it was originally written; and very effectually answered the end for which it was prepared, namely: to show that Mr. Whitman had failed utterly to sustain Dr. Channing's charges against the Orthodox, and that his statements were unreliable, his reasoning unsound, his stories for the most part *ex-parte*, or mere hearsay, or perversions and misrepresentations of the truth. Mr. Whitman replied to this reviewer, and he rejoined; but neither altered materially the state of the question.

The Unitarian controversy in Massachusetts was finished substantially by about the year 1833; though it was continued in a desultory way for several years later. And now, at its close, how stands the account? What has the controversy done? What has evangelical religion — what has Congregationalism gained or lost by the controversy?

To answer these questions intelligently, it is necessary to look back to the early history of the Massachusetts churches, to follow it along to the commencement of this controversy, and then to compare that with the history of these churches since the controversy closed.

For more than one hundred years from the organization of the first church in Boston, a new church was formed in the town about every twelve years. In other words, eleven Congregational churches were gathered here between 1630 and 1748, both years included; and meeting-houses were built for their accommodation. But for the next sixty-one years — that is, from 1748 to 1809 — not a single new church of our order was gathered, nor a meeting-house built in Boston. Then, the Park Street Church was formed, and a meeting-house was erected, between February 27th, 1809, and January 10th, 1810. But this was not the worst of it; there was in this time an actual loss of churches in the town. In 1775 there were eleven Congregational and Presbyterian houses of worship in Boston; but be-

fore the Park Street meeting-house was erected there were only nine houses of worship owned and occupied by these denominations; and yet the population of the town must have been nearly double what it was in 1775.* And even these houses were occupied largely by ministers and churches who had lost the religious spirit of the fathers, whatever may have been the letter of their creeds. When Park Street Church was formed, there was but one of the ancient churches

* In 1700 the population of Boston was estimated at seven thousand souls; in 1722, it was ten thousand five hundred and sixty-seven, in 1742 it was sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty two, in 1762, it was only fifteen thousand seven hundred and thirty one, in 1785, it was fifteen thousand five hundred and twenty; in 1790, it was eighteen thousand and thirty-eight, in 1800, it was twenty-four thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven; and in 1810, it was thirty-three thousand two hundred and fifty souls.—*Holmes' Annals; Snow's Hist. Boston.*

Dr. Griffin, in his dedicatory sermon at Park Street, January 10th, 1810, said: "That the proprietors were correct in supposing another house to be necessary, will appear from the following statement:

"For a hundred and twenty years after the first Christian assembly was gathered in this town, a new Congregational or Presbyterian Church [the Federal Street Church was originally Presbyterian] was established, upon an average, once in twelve years. But since that period—that is, for near seventy years—none has been added to the number, notwithstanding the increasing ratio of the progress of population; but, on the contrary, two which existed at the commencement of the American Revolution have disappeared. In 1775, and for thirty years preceding, there were in the town eleven houses for public worship, owned by the Congregational and Presbyterian churches; in 1808, there were but nine."—Page 17.

of Boston which was avowedly Calvinistic in its faith or had an avowed Calvinist for a pastor; and that was the Old South, which had barely escaped the general declension. This, then, was the state of things in Boston, the capital of New England, in 1808: there was but just one Congregational church which held to the early faith of the fathers, and but one pulpit in which their doctrines were plainly preached; that was the Old South; and even there the scales were so nearly poised that it required great wisdom and much grace to preach and practise the ancient faith without seriously disturbing many of the congregation.

Thus it was before the Unitarian controversy opened.* How was it at its close? There were

* *Am. Quar. Rev.* xiv, 420. The list of Boston Orthodox Congregational churches in 1842 stood thus:

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
Old South	1609
Park Street	1809
Union Church	1822
Phillips (South Boston)	1823
Green Street	1823
Hanover (Bowdoin Street)	1825
Salem Church (Salem and Mariners')	1827
Pine Street (Berkeley Street)	1827
Mariners' Church	1830
Franklin Street (Odeon — now Central)	1835
First Free Congregational Church (Marlboro' Chapel)	1835
Maverick Church (East Boston)	1836
Garden Street Church	1841
Mount Vernon Church	1842

in Boston, in 1842, the very seat and centre of this great and violent controversy, fourteen Orthodox Congregational churches, besides nine Baptist and ten Methodist churches — all strongly Trinitarian; and these churches had a membership of eight thousand five hundred, of whom nearly one half (3,750) were Congregationalists.

In the entire State there were, in 1840, five hundred and forty-four Congregational churches.

Four of these churches have disappeared from our list — Hanover, Green Street, Free, and Garden Street; and one has united with another church — Salem. But two new churches have been organized — Shawmut and Chambers Street, making the number of Congregational churches in 1875, on the same ground, within three of what it was in 1842, while in the immediate neighborhood there has been a material increase of our churches, from the overflowing of Boston people.

[The Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D.D., the well-known Methodist clergyman, published in *The Congregationalist* of January 26th, 1881, a very carefully prepared article on "Religious Progress in Boston," from which I borrow the following statements, as being peculiarly pertinent in this connection. "The increase in the Radius District [Boston and vicinity] from 1800 to 1880 has been seven Jewish, fifty-six Roman Catholic, fifty-eight 'Liberal,' and two hundred and thirty-nine 'Evangelical' churches, the gain of the latter being more than four times as much as that of either the Roman Catholic or the 'Liberal' churches, and twice as much as that of all the others united. In 1800 the 'Liberal' churches were one for 2,028 inhabitants in the Radius District; in 1880, one for 7,146 inhabitants. In 1800 the 'Evangelical' churches were one for 2,000 inhabitants; in 1880, one for 2,256 inhabitants — a relative gain of about 15 per cent. In 1800 the 'Liberal' churches in the Radius District were 7 more than the 'Evangelical'; now, the 'Evangelical' churches are 176 more than the 'Liberal.'" — G. B. J.]

Of these, about one hundred and thirty were substantially Unitarian; ninety-six of them having been originally Orthodox churches which were swept from their moorings by the great Unitarian flood; and some thirty or more being the remnants or sediment of Orthodox churches which remained with parishes from which the churches themselves had removed. This work of separation between the Unitarians and Orthodox was very extensive and thorough in the State, particularly between 1820-30. All the details of this sad business can never be given. Perhaps it is best that they should not be. We have, however, some particulars of eighty-one Orthodox churches which either voluntarily withdrew from Unitarian parishes or were driven out by the votes of parishes which took from these churches the right to select their own pastors, and assumed to place over them men who rejected fundamental doctrines of the Evangelical faith. These proceedings left the churches no alternative but to sacrifice their dearest rights and privileges, or to abandon their places of worship and all their church as well as parish property. The necessity for doing this arose from the remarkable decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, a learned Unitarian chief justice presiding, that a Congregational church, as such, was not known in law, and could have no recognized legal existence except as it was connected with and attached to "a regularly constituted society;" so that the moment a

church, for any reason, separated itself from the parish or society, it ceased to be a church for all legal purposes. And this was true, though a church should leave a society in an unbroken body — though every member of the church, male and female, should unite in the secession. The legal existence of the church depended absolutely on its connection with the regularly constituted parish. The language of the court is sufficiently plain and explicit: "As to all civil purposes," Chief Justice Parker says, "the secession of a whole church from the parish would be an extinction of the church; and it is competent to the members of the parish to institute a new church, or to engraft one upon the old stock, if any of it should remain; and this new church would succeed to all the rights of the old in relation to the parish." *

According to this ruling, if a church ceased to be, just so soon as it ceased to be, an appendage to some "regularly constituted society," it could not retain church funds or other property previously held; for the church, as such, had committed suicide by leaving the society, and had no legal existence, and of course could hold no property — could claim none. It was dead and buried,

* Chief Justice Isaac Parker, in *Massachusetts Term Reports*, xvi, 504-06, in *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, i, 119-20. See an extended and very able review of Judge Parker's decision and of the whole question involved, in *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, vol. i, 51-74, 118-140, 428-503, and vol. ii, 370-403.

and all the property once held by it belonged to its legal heirs, the "regularly constituted society." It might have been anticipated by our judges that this stern decree would effectually prevent the secession of churches from their parishes—certainly, of all who held property as their own or in common with their societies. But if so, the result must have greatly disappointed this expectation. For, despite this unrighteous decision, not less than one hundred and twenty-six churches and parishes were torn asunder; involving the loss to Orthodoxy and gain to Unitarianism of all church and parish funds, and all the meeting-houses, parsonages and appurtenances, wherever the societies could command anti-Orthodox majorities sufficient to outvote the churches. Exactly what this entire loss and gain was, cannot now be told. Eighty-one of these exiled churches, however, report an aggregate loss of nearly three hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars in funds, besides their meeting-houses, which were worth perhaps a quarter of a million more. All of this property did not, to be sure, belong to these churches, exclusively—though no inconsiderable portion of it did; but they had the use and benefit of it all before the separation,* and were compelled to abandon all

* See the history of "The Exiled Churches of Massachusetts," in the *Congregational Quarterly* for July, 1953; also, *Clark's Hist Cong'l Churches Massachusetts*, 270-74, and 290-318.

when they broke away from the parishes or societies, which Massachusetts law had made supreme over the churches, and necessary to their very existence.

And what adds pungency to all this is the fact that three out of four of the members of all these churches were Orthodox seceders, who, for conscience' sake, were constrained to leave all their rights and property to the one fourth who remained with the old societies! * But the loss of property was not the worst feature of this separation. The rupture of social and even family ties, the division of households, and the interruption of friendly relations with townsmen and old associates, were much harder to face than any merely pecuniary loss, however severe. And then, to bear reproach, to be misrepresented, maligned and despised, on account of their conscientious scruples and corresponding action, which had caused them so much loss and suffering, was hardest of all; yet thousands of men and women, and even youths and children, nobly submitted to all this, in witness of their love of sound doctrine and Scriptural practice, and in protest against what was opposed to these. Whatever view one may take of this movement — of the opinions of these Separatists, or of the policy or propriety

* The whole membership of these eighty-one churches before the separation was 5,182; the number of Orthodox members who separated themselves from the societies was 3,000.— *Clark*, 271.

of their action—he cannot well withhold from them the tribute of his respect for their brave and self-denying honesty. There is, indeed, something sublime in this exodus. It is kindred to that of the Pilgrims, who separated themselves from a corrupt church, and forsook all the endearments of their native land, and braved the hardships of this wilderness and the scorn of nominal Christendom, all for conscience' sake. It reminds one even of the martyr-spirit which enabled men and women of old to brave prisons, tortures, and death itself, for Christ's sake and the gospel.

The living men and women of Massachusetts who went through the painful experience of those days, when ostracism from "the best society" of a place was the penalty of becoming a member of one of the little Orthodox churches which had been compelled to separate from a Unitarian parish, will never forget the wormwood and the gall. But God manifestly accepted these sacrifices, and fulfilled to these Separatists the promise attached to the command which they had kept: "I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." These exiled churches were blessed and increased beyond all previous experience, and religion was revived and made to prosper all around them as it had not prospered for many, many years, if ever before.

The statistics of this period, as compared with

the years immediately preceding and following it, will perhaps give the reader the best idea of the effects of this movement on the prosperity of the churches.

Between 1810 and 1820, twenty-six new Congregational churches were formed in Massachusetts, several of which were secessions from old anti-evangelical bodies; though the work of separation did not fully begin until later. Between 1820-30, ninety-seven new churches were formed, sixty-four of which were the direct fruits of the Unitarian controversy. The next ten years added eighty new churches to the Congregational sisterhood of Massachusetts; and the next seventeen years, 1840-57, added one hundred and three to our number.

Nearly this entire period of our history, from 1820 to 1857, was marked by revivals of religion, many of them works of extraordinary power. It was so in 1820, in 1821 and in 1822. In November of 1822, a revival of great interest and power commenced in Park Street Church, Boston, and soon extended to the Old South and the Union Churches, and to the Mission and Seamen's Churches; also to the First Congregational Church in Charlestown. Between three and four hundred persons in these societies were among the inquirers. The good work was enjoyed likewise by many congregations in different sections of the State; and, indeed, all over New England and the Middle States. The whole number of

revivals in 1822-23 was estimated at four hundred, and the converts at thirty thousand or more.

Park Street Church seems to have enjoyed much of the Divine favor from the beginning. During the first twelve years of its existence two hundred and sixty-six persons were added to the membership, more than half of them by profession; and on the first of April, 1824, it had received four hundred and seventy-five members. Park Street, Old South and Union Churches, between January 1st, 1823, and April 1st, 1824, received two hundred and eighty-three new members to fellowship.* As Boston was the very focus of the Unitarian controversy, these figures have a special significance in this connection.

In 1827, the earliest date at which we have reliable returns of the Congregational churches of Massachusetts, the whole number of churches in the State is set down at two hundred and forty, and the number of communicants at twenty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-three.† In 1828 the number of churches had increased to two hundred and sixty-nine; and the church members had increased more than ten thousand —

* The data in regard to Boston churches are derived chiefly from the *Boston Recorder*, 1823-24, and those of the State generally, largely from the *Annals of the General Association* for the several years.

† *Am. Quar. Reg.*, 1, 47.

to thirty-two thousand eight hundred and forty-four.* The next year the growth was much less—only five churches and a little less than three thousand communicants.

Between 1830-38 the increase of churches and communicants was very marked; about thirty new churches were organized, and more than nine thousand persons were added to the churches; making the whole number of churches in 1833 three hundred and twenty-two, and of communicants over forty-six thousand. More than half of the Congregational churches of the State were visited with revivals during the years 1831-32, and more than seven thousand were added to the churches.†

In 1840, at the close of the polemic period, the account stood substantially thus: In the State there were four hundred and nine Orthodox Congregational churches, and one hundred and thirty-five Unitarian; or three times as many Orthodox

* *Ib.*, 163.

The General Association of Massachusetts began to report the number of the churches connected with the Association in 1820, and the number of communicants. But it was several years before all the Congregational churches in the State united with the General Association, and before full returns could be obtained. Thus, in 1828, the Association reported two hundred and thirty-three churches as connected with it, and the number of communicants at twenty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-four—a material variation from the actual number in the State as given in the text.

† *Ib.*, ii, 159; iii, 198; iv, 223; v, 239, vi, 146.

churches as there were Unitarian, and sixty-seven more Orthodox churches than the whole number of Congregational churches before the separation began; while the Orthodox church members were to the Unitarians as ten to one.*

In 1857 the Orthodox Congregational churches in Massachusetts numbered four hundred and ninety, the Unitarians one hundred and seventy. In 1870 Orthodox Congregational churches had increased to five hundred and two, their ministers to five hundred and ninety-one, and their communicants to above eighty thousand. From these data there was but little variation up to the returns in 1874, when the whole number of churches was but six larger than it was four years previous, and the number of communicants was less than twenty-five hundred more — 82,479.

The present number of Unitarian parishes in

* Clark, 272.

The following statement was made several years ago by an old-fashioned "liberal" minister, usually reckoned among Unitarians, though against his protest. In May, 1812, there were, he tells us, three hundred and thirty-five settled Congregational ministers in Massachusetts. Of these, one hundred and seventy-nine were reputed Orthodox, and one hundred and thirty-eight were liberal enough to be called Arminians. In May, 1846, there were one hundred and twenty-four liberal enough to be Arminians (to give them no other party name), and four hundred and seventeen denominated themselves Orthodox, making five hundred and forty-one in all. This makes a liberal loss of fourteen in thirty-four years, and an Orthodox gain of two hundred and thirty-four — Dr. John Pierce, of Brookline, Massachusetts, in *Memor of Dr. Samuel Worcester*, vol. II, p. 379, note 1.

Massachusetts is not far from one hundred and ninety, of which thirty-one are in Boston; and the whole number in the United States is about three hundred and fifty-eight. The whole number of Unitarian ministers in America, in 1875, was about four hundred—394; one hundred and fifty-nine of whom were without parochial charges, many of them having other occupations.*

NOTE. The literature of the Unitarian controversy is copious almost beyond example, considering the fact that it was essentially a local controversy, confined very much to New England, and mainly to Massachusetts. The marginal references to authorities, on the preceding pages, sufficiently indicate, perhaps, the sources from which this sketch has been derived. And yet, there are a few comprehensive works which deserve special mention. At the head of these should be placed Dr. Gillett's exhaustive review of the Unitarian Controversy, in the April number of the *Historical Magazine* for 1871, pp. 221-324; in which may be found a list of two hundred and sixty-five distinct works and papers on this controversy. And even this list does not include scores of articles on the subject, many of them very long and labored articles, which appeared from time to time in the *Panoplist*, *Anthology*, *Christian Disciple*, *Christian Examiner*, *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, and *Christian Spectator*.

Another comprehensive work of very great value is entitled *Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England, between 1740 and 1840*, by the late Bishop Burgess, of Maine. This is a remarkably fair and comprehensive review of this entire controversy for a hundred years, by a scholar and divine who did not entirely sympathize with the leaders on either side. 12mo, 129 pages.

The fairest and most satisfactory presentation of the Unitarian

* I got at these figures by counting the lists of parishes and ministers in the *Year-Book of the Unitarian Congregational Churches* for 1875. No statistics are published of Unitarian church members or parishes, so far as I can learn.

rian side of this controversy will be found in Dr. George E. Ellis' *Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy*. 8vo, 611 pages.

[Mr. Punchard's original plan contemplated the addition of a sixth volume to this history, for which he had collected much of the requisite material. That volume would have embraced the following topics: Synods and Councils, Congregational Psalmody, English Congregationalism from 1625, and The Inner Life of British Congregationalism. But a very short time before his death, Mr. Punchard expressed to the subscriber his conviction that the preparation for this sixth volume was too incomplete to warrant any provision for its publication. Accordingly, I can only accept the alternative presented by the sudden breaking off of the purposes of the author, and announce the completion of his *History*. Should any of the material mentioned above ever be given to the public, it must be in some other form than was originally contemplated. Had the author lived to add another volume, the criticism which was sometimes passed upon the first three volumes—that the title, *History of Congregationalism*, was inappropriate—would have lost much of its pertinence, for no candid reader could have failed to admit the incompleteness of the history as a whole without the preparatory work which those volumes included; or, in other words, it must have been freely conceded that the history of Congregationalism, as a complete organism and as a working system, absolutely demanded the prior history of its germinal life, and of the protracted and weary conflicts by which the system was developed.—G. B. J.]



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